
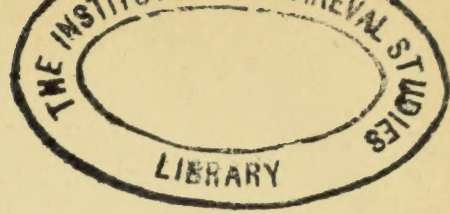




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HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XVI

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

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THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

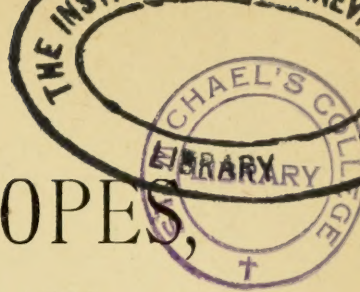
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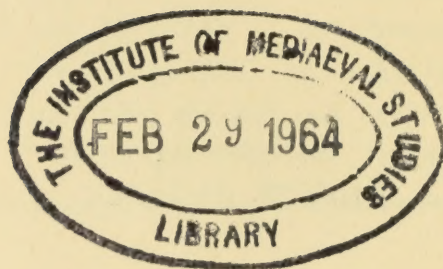
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CHAPTER I.

CONFIRMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.—THE INDEX.— THE ROMAN CATECHISM.

DURING his severe illness, at the end of 1563, Pius IV. had spoken in a way which had aroused the expectation in the minds of well-informed persons that the decrees of the Council would be strictly enforced.¹ After his recovery the Pope continued to express himself in the same sense. On December 12th, 1563,² he held a consistory in the presence of the Imperial, Spanish, Portuguese and Venetian ambassadors, at which he expressed his joy at the happy ending of the Council. The fathers, he said, had held their discussions in complete independence, and had freely resolved to bring their deliberations to a close. No assembly which had been held during the past 500 years could compare in importance with that held at Trent in its advantageous results for the Church, in the number and learning of those who took part in it, or in the importance and complexity of the subjects dealt with. Nothing further remained but that the Pope should exercise his office by confirming and ordering the observance of what had

¹ *Pare che questa nuova del recesso del Concilio, li habbia arrecato un mondo di pensieri et di confusione, dice volere osservare in tutto le deliberazioni del Concilio et non ne volere preterire una iota, vuole che tutti i vescovi vadino a residere et credo sarà severissimo et aspro quanto sia stato altro Pontefice con i vescovi et cardinali. Report of Serristori, dated Rome, December 17, 1563 (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3283, p. 112).

² POGIANI (Epist. III., 372) gives December 10 as against December 12 in the consistorial acta (manuscript of Card. Spada) in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 222, and *Acta consist., card. Gambarae, p. 250a of the Cod. 40-G-13 of the Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. PALLAVICINI, 24, 9, 1; SICKEL, Konzil, 52.

been ordained as good and salutary. It was his intention to make some additions to the decrees; he would insist that the bishops should reside in their dioceses, and he also took the opportunity of announcing at once that no one must look for indulgence in this respect.¹ He then ordered a procession of thanksgiving to be made on December 15th to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.²

It could be seen from the replies of the Cardinals to this speech that all in Rome were not in favour of an unconditional confirmation of the reform decrees. Several remarked that explanations ought to be appended to some of the ordinances. Pius IV. replied that he would consider this point on another occasion, but that it was his intention to confirm the decrees both in general and particular.³ In spite of this clear declaration the report spread that the Pope himself would be the first to break through the limits set by the Council,⁴ and it would seem that several of the Roman officials were agitating, more especially against a general confirmation of the reform decrees, principally because they feared the diminution of their revenues owing to the limitation of the appeals to Rome.⁵

¹ Consistorial acta in POGIANI, Epist. III., 372-4, and in the *Corsini Library, 40-G-13, p. 250-3. For the story of the confirmation of the Council *cf.* EHSES, Der Schlussakt des Konzils von Trient, in Görres-Gesellschaft, 1914, 43 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Die Geschichte der Congregatio Concilii von dem Motuproprio "Alias nos nonnullas" vom 2 August, 1564, in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, LXXX. (1900), 3-17. For the dissertation of HACKENBERG in Festschrift zum elfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des deutschen Camposanto in Rom. (1897), 221 *seqq.*, see SÄGMÜLLER, *loc. cit.*

² Bondonus in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 122.

³ POGIANI Epist., III., 374.

⁴ Pius IV., on December 30, *ibid.*, III., 382.

⁵ To reassure them Pius IV. on January 26, 1564, while giving the confirmation, said: "Damnum vero huius curiae multo levius fore, quam prima specie videretur, tamen quantumcunque esset, prae universali bono christianae reipublicae neglegendum."

*Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13,

In the meantime, the legates, Morone and Simonetta, had returned to Rome even before Christmas, had reported upon the Council in many audiences, and had begged for its confirmation.¹ The Pope held another consistory on December 30th,² at which, in a long speech, he first gave thanks for the Council to God, the Emperor, and the princes, and praised the legates and fathers of the Council. He also expressed his thanks to the fathers because they had, in their reform decrees, shown such moderation and consideration for the Curia. He would have proceeded with much greater strictness himself, had he taken the work of reform into his own hands. It was his fixed intention to confirm the reform prescriptions of the Council, and to have them strictly enforced.³ The unfounded belief of many persons that he was not in earnest about the carrying out of the reform would thus be disproved by the facts. It was his intention to make alterations only where the fathers had been too timid, but not so as to relax discipline in any way. He then entrusted Cardinal Morone with the task of watching over the consistory, so that nothing

p. 259b; *cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 3. As Ehses shows in a recently published article, the statements which Sarpi makes concerning the objections raised in the curia, and which he bases on other authorities, are quite unworthy of belief.

¹ RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 1 *seq.* Morone and Simonetta left Trent on December 6, 1563 (ŠUSTA, IV., 448). The other two legates, Navagero and Hosius, received the permission which they had asked for to return to their own dioceses, Verona and Ermland (Borromeo to Navagero, December 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 455; brief to Hosius of December 5 [ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*, 4], RAYNALDUS 1563, n. 223). Navagero left Trent on December 8, and Hosius on the 15. ŠUSTA, IV., 448, 456.

² POGIANI Epist., III., 381-92. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13, p. 253-8. *Cf.* EHSSES, Schlussakt des Konzils, 46, which goes to discredit the remarks of Sarpi (8, 84).

³ "Certum ac fixum est nobis efficere, ut, servatis s. concilii decretis illa disciplinae ratio in mores inducatur. POGIANI Epist. III., 382. *Cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 8, 10; EHSSES, Schlussakt des Konzils, 46.

might be proposed there which was foreign to the spirit of the Council or opposed to it. Cardinal Simonetta was to act in a like manner in the case of the Dataria.¹ The Pope was determined to have the reform decrees of the Council carried out absolutely; should, in any special case, a dispensation be necessary, it was his intention to grant it only on the advice of the Cardinals. At the end of his speech the Pope again insisted on the importance of the duty of residence, to which he would not make any exception, even for his own personal service. He then appointed two commissions of Cardinals: the one to prepare the confirmation of the Council, and to consider the best means of carrying it out, that is to say, to arrive at a decision as to the time and manner of the confirmation,² while the other, which was to consist of the senior Cardinal Bishop, the senior Cardinal Priest, and the senior Cardinal Deacon, was to discharge the duty, in conjunction with those presenting the candidate in each case, of examining the worthiness of those proposed for bishoprics.³ Shortly afterwards the Pope celebrated the anniversary of his election and coronation by a banquet given to the whole senate of the Church. Many of the Cardinals looked upon this joyful occasion as a favourable opportunity of obtaining marks of favour; Pius IV., however, refused all such requests, and protested once more that he would confirm the whole of the decrees of the Council, and would see that they were observed. The official world of Rome was in despair at such pronouncements, and was of opinion that a wholesale departure of the prelates would follow, and that Rome would be left half empty.⁴

¹ POGIANI Epist., III., 382 *seq.*

² Cf. EHSES, *loc. cit.* 47.

³ POGIANI Epist., III., 391. Prospero d'Arco to Ferdinand I., January 1, 1564, in SICKEL, *Konzil*, 649.

⁴ *Dopo pasto si ridusse dove suole fare congregazioni, ove molti cardinali lo ricercarono d'alcune gratie, alle quali S.St^a non volse consentire ne amettere pur'una. Anzi cominciò a proporre a loro che voleva confermare tutti li decreti fatti al concilio di Trento et farle osservare. . . . Si farà un sfrattamento che

Pius IV. had, by these repeated public declarations, practically pledged himself to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and any possible objections made by the discontented members of the Curia could have little effect to the contrary.¹ After the congregation of Cardinals had completed its work,² it was possible to proceed to the final act of the Council. All the Cardinals advised an unconditional confirmation at the consistory of January 26th, 1564, Cicada and Ghislieri alone finding a difficulty in the decision of the Council³ that bishops were to be able to absolve in matters of conscience which were reserved to the Pope.⁴ This objection, however, had already been invalidated by the congregation of Cardinals. No one adopted the view put forward, for political reasons, by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, that they ought first to await the concurrence of the unrepresented powers. Pius IV., as well as all the other Cardinals, rejected this proposal, because the papal confirmation must precede everything else.⁵ Morone,

Roma resterà la metà vota. Gli ufficiali sono disperati, pur che son sospese le ispeditioni, dice quelle poche che si facevano etiamdio di beneficii. Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, January 8, 1564 (Cart. Farnes. 763, State Archives, Naples). Even before the close of the Council, Pius IV. had ordered that all transactions with the Curia should be free, which, however, in the event, was found to be impracticable; cf. CANISIUS Epist., V., 122, n. 2; 179, n. 6.

¹ We have not got sufficient information as to the opposition to the unconditional confirmation, but merely the authority of the untrustworthy Sarpi, and certain ambassadorial reports (in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 551, 554, 563 seq.), in addition to the characteristic letter of Bernardo Tasso (Lettere, ed. Portioli, 36). Cf. SÄGMÜLLER in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, 1900, 10 seq.

² For the discussions, which reveal their care to change nothing in the well thought out reform decrees of the Council, see EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 51 seq.

³ Sess. 24, de ref. c. 6.

⁴ *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-G-13, pp. 260b-1.

⁵ See EHSES, *loc. cit.*, 52.

in whom, as Borromeo pertinently remarked, the whole history of the Council of Trent was personified,¹ defended this view in a long speech. In conjunction with Simonetta he begged for the confirmation of all the decisions which had been arrived at in Trent since Paul III. The Pope acceded to this request and promised to draw up a document to that effect ; he was, he added, prepared to encounter many difficulties in carrying out those decisions, but he was also resolved to surmount them. He then returned once more to the duty of residence of the bishops, and declared that he agreed to the limitation of appeals which the Council had ordered.²

In spite of the repeated assurances of the Pope, the fear that he would nevertheless very soon dispense from the reform decrees, was not at once allayed.³ How deeply Pius IV. was convinced of the importance of the Council is also evident from the fact that immediately after its close, at the latest in January, 1564, he proposed having the documents concerning the proceedings of the synod printed.⁴ As early as the year 1548, the then legate of the Council, Cervini, had formed the plan of issuing such a publication, which would, in his opinion, afford a means of following the course of the deliberations, and of proving the care with which the fathers had proceeded.⁵ Later, however, the views of those who feared that more harm than good would come from such a step, prevailed, although during the first months after the Council the plan of issuing such a publication was considered so certain that in the earliest Roman editions of

¹ ŠUSTA, IV., 455.

² *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, *loc. cit.*, 258 *seqq.* RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 1-3. STEINHERZ, IV., 10.

³ Cf. Borromeo to the Archbishop of Braga, on December 2, 1564, April 3 and December 2, 1565, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 519, 522, 528 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 252, 276.

⁴ EHSES, II., xxvi-xxxviii. ; V., xxvi-xxxviii. The reproach made by Sarpi, and accepted by Ranke, that they wished in Rome to suppress the acts is not justified. Cf. EHSES in the Röm. Quartalschrift, XVI. (1902), 296-307.

⁵ EHSES, II., xxvi.

the decrees of the Council, the printer, Paulus Manutius, announced in the preface¹ that the publication of the documents was imminent.

The official printed edition of the Tridentine decrees appeared in March, 1564.² It contains an official statement of the oral papal confirmation of January 26th. The promised bull of confirmation, which, in view of this oral confirmation, was no longer really necessary, was, during the months that followed, so slow in making its appearance, that many people believed that it would never be issued. Everything was done by certain officials of the Curia to prevent its publication; it was represented to the Pope that an unconditional con-

¹ Printed in the Appendix to the *Epistolae* of Manutius (Venice, 1573), 133. Cf. *Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 15, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the plan of Joh. Fickler of publishing the acts of the Council in 1605, cf. WIEDEMANN, *Reformation*, I., 246.

² The printing was completed on March 18 (STEINHERZ, IV., 73; cf. *infra* p. 8, note 1). A second edition was accompanied by a *motuproprio* signed by Borromeo "4 id. apr." (EHSES, II., xxxii., n. 6). Borromeo speaks of a reprint on July 1, 1564 (STEINHERZ, IV., 149). Cf. A. RENOARD, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1803, 346-52; SALA, *Dissertazioni*, 231-9; SICKEL, *Berichte*, I., 35. In some copies of the first edition, Massarelli and two notaries of the Council attest its conformity with the original. A facsimile of this attestation from the original is in SWOBODA, 127. Cf. RENOARD, 347; SALA, 233; LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 179. Other editions, not official, differ widely from the Roman one and from the one which the congregation of the Council sent, on January 29, 1565, as an authoritative and authenticated copy to the Archbishop of Saragossa (POGIANI *Epist.*, I., 344). For the variations in the Paris edition of 1564, especially with reference to the additions on the Immaculate Conception, see EHSES, II., xiv., n. 3. Borromeo sent an authentic copy to the Archbishop of Bremen so that the decrees might be printed in their genuine form in Germany "et impiorum hominum fraus, a quibus iam impressa multaque falsa affecta sunt, et deprehendi et evitari facile possit." Borromeo, on August 29, 1564, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 517.

firmation of the Council would affect the revenues of the Apostolic Camera in the most disastrous manner, and would mean the simple ruin of the Papal Court.¹ The fear aroused by the oral confirmation of January 26th, which, however, could still be limited by the bull, was already great enough. Two-thirds of the Court, it was calculated, would now, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence, leave Rome, and with them would depart the splendour and luxury of the city, for good or for evil.²

In spite of this, however, the promised bull appeared on

¹ *Circa la bolla del concilio, che dover uscire, si è sopraseduta per le molte querele de' cortegiani di Roma, li quali non mancano con ogni via insinuare alla S.Stà, che ciò sarà la rovina della corte. Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Si travano tante difficoltà nel far di questa bolla del concilio, che per molte che ne siano fatte, non si trova forma che sodisfaccia, et si tiene da i giuditiosi, che non se ne publicarà alcuna. Bern. Tasso to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, March 8, 1564: Lettere, ed. Portioli 44. *Il concilio è finito di stampare, cioè li decreti solo, con una pura fede in fine del card. Farnese che sia stato approbato da S.B^{ne}, et altra bolla sin qui non v'è ne si crede che sia per uscire, venendo molto impugnata per ciascuno per il danno della corte et diminutione delle entrate delle camera. Si stampa appresso integramente come è stato di mano in mano fatto, ma non è ancor fornito, et di più si ristampa il primo in stampa piccola. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, March 15, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cf. Requesens to Philip II., February 22, and March 4, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 551, 554.

² La dichiarazione che hieri S.Stà fece in concistorio che confermava *in omnibus et per omnia* et senza alcuna exceptione tutto quello che era stato deliberato nel concilio, ha posta in desperatione tutta questa corte, et si tiene per certo che questa città ne rimarrà desolata; S.Stà è deliberata che tutti i Cardinali, i Vescovi, et tutti quelli c' hanno benefici curati vadano a far la residentia, di maniera che i due terzi della Corte se n' andranno, et con questi necessariamente si partirà la maggior parte de' mercanti, de gli artefici et delle putane. Bern. Tasso to the Commandant of Mantua, Francesco Tosabezzi, on January 27, 1564, in PORTIOLI, 36.

June 30th, with the date of the oral confirmation, January 26th, 1564.¹ After an historical introduction on the Council of Trent, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that, in virtue of the Papal concession, the Council had been able to decide with absolute freedom upon matters reserved to the Holy See, the confirmation of the Council follows, together with a call upon the bishops and princes to carry out the decrees issued, and to support this work by the secular power. Two important decisions then followed: It is forbidden to print commentaries and notes concerning the decrees of the Council without permission from the Holy See, while in case of doubt as to the interpretation of any decree, application must be made to the Holy See, to which is reserved the decision of all such difficulties.²

These two regulations concerning the exclusive right of interpretation by the Holy See, were the outcome of exhaustive deliberations, and were in reality the principal cause of the long delay in the appearance of the bull.³ There was an obvious danger that the reform decrees might be differently understood in various countries and by various tribunals, and that confusion and uncertainty might in consequence arise. This danger was avoided by the right of interpretation being re-

¹ For the reasons for not giving up the publication, see Borromeo to Delfino, July, 1, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 149. Cf. the *reports of Giacomo Tarregghetti to Mantua, January 19: the bull of confirmation "è fatta, ma non pubblicata"; January 22: "Tutti questi giorni congregationi" on the subject of the "confirmatione" of the council; February 23: Yesterday there were congregations on the bull of confirmation. The ambassador refers to this at length; July 1: "Ieri sera finalmente è uscita la bolla confirmatoria del concilio tridentino." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cf. Requesens to Philip II. on July 6, 1564: "A postrero del pasado salio impresa [the bull of confirmation] y se fijo en los lugares publicos de Roma." DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 563; STEINHERZ, IV., 150; CYPRIANUS, 366.

² The bull *Benedictus Deus* in RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 3, and in the printed editions of the Council of Trent.

³ Requesens to Philip II., February 2, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 551.

served to the Holy See. The Council had already acknowledged the primacy of the Apostolic See by its decision that the decrees should only be valid when without prejudice to the Papal rights.¹ The Gallican party, however, the existence of which the proceedings at the Council had lately made evident, was able to maintain that the Pope had exercised the rights reserved to him by the Council by his very act of confirmation, and that he could in consequence no longer alter anything in the decrees, but was, on the contrary, himself subject to them.² This second danger was met by the clear declaration that the interpretation of the decrees was to be for all future time in the hands of the Pope. A further reason for the delay in the publication of the bull was to be found in the opposition to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, which, it would appear, was not yet silenced.

It was to be expected that an immense number of questions concerning the Tridentine reform decrees would reach Rome as soon as these decisions became known. Pius IV. therefore commissioned the eight Cardinals to whom he had entrusted the task of preparing the confirmation and enforcement of the Council, to see that the decrees were exactly observed. The same Cardinals were also to put into force the former reform prescriptions affecting the Penitentiaria and the various Roman tribunals, which had not been sufficiently obeyed.³ In cases of doubt, however, the eight Cardinals were not to decide of themselves but were to refer the matter to the Pope. Pius IV. soon increased the number of this commission of Cardinals to twelve,⁴ and appointed as secre-

¹ Sess. 25, de ref. c. 21.

² Requesens to Philip II., *loc. cit.*

³ Motuproprio of August 2, 1564, in POGIANI Epist., II., liii., and in the editions of the Council of Trent. It is possible that the idea of the "Congregatio cardinalium concilii Tridentini interpretum" was suggested to the Pope by Bishop Ugo Boncampagni, the future Gregory XIII. (SÄGMÜLLER in the Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, 1900, 12-14), but so far the only authority for this is a writer of such little reliability as Sarpi.

⁴ Before April 5; see POGIANI Epist., IV., 17.

tary the celebrated latinist, Giulio Poggiani, whose skilful pen clothed a great number of the decisions in classical garb.¹ Later on the power of this commission was greatly extended, so that it developed into the Congregation which became so important for the interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent.²

Only the reform decrees fell within the competency of the Congregation of the Council, not the dogmatic decisions. The Council itself had endeavoured to secure submission to these by its regulation that all those who took part in a provincial synod, the bishop at their head, must solemnly accept the Council, promise obedience to the Pope, and openly reject all heresies, especially those condemned at Trent.³ Besides this, all those who, for the future, should be chosen for the episcopate, were to submit their profession of faith to the Pope,⁴ while all those who received an appointment involving the cure of souls were to make a profession of faith and take an oath of obedience to the Roman Church.⁵ The Council had not drawn up a formula for the profession of faith, although the draft of one had been submitted to it.⁶ Pius IV. completed the work of the Council in this respect, by the bull of November 13th, 1564;⁷ at the same time he extended the obligation of making a profession of faith and taking an oath

¹ POGIANI Epist., I., 335-496. They cover the interval between October 8, 1564, and September 25, 1568.

² For the Congregation of the Council cf. G. PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, VI., 625, Ratisbon, 1864; WERNZ, *Ius decretalium*, II., 752, Rome, 1899; R. PARAYRE, *La sainte Congrégation du Concile. Son histoire, sa procédure, son autorité*, Paris, 1897.

³ Sess. 25, de ref. c. 2.

⁴ Sess. 24, de ref. c. 1.

⁵ Sess. 24, de ref. c. 12.

⁶ *Canones super abusibus sacramenti ordinis* (presented on April 30, 1563) can. 17. LE PLAT, VI., 41. As early as September 4, 1560, according to LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 212 seq., there was drawn up a form of oath which had to be taken by bishops and prelates on assuming their office, and at consecration.

⁷ The bull, *Iniunctum nobis*, printed in the edition of the Council of Trent.

of obedience to the superiors of Orders, while in another constitution, issued at the same time, he laid the same obligation on professors in universities, and on doctors taking their degree.¹ In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries the Tridentine profession of faith was extended still further.²

The Council had not been able to complete some of its labours, such as the revision of the Index of prohibited books, the publication of a catechism, and the reform of the more important liturgical books, and it had accordingly, in its last session, committed the carrying out of these tasks to the care of the Apostolic See.³

Of these tasks, that which was the most advanced was the preparation of the revised Index.⁴ Paul IV. had already learned by experience that he could not, even in Italy, be successful in carrying into effect his excessively rigorous prohibition of books.⁵ As early as 1559 the editions of his Index contain the beginnings of a mitigation of the strictest ordinances,⁶ and Cardinal Otto Truchsess, who complained of the crushing severity of the prohibitions, received a re-

¹ *In sacrosancta* of November 13, 1564, Bull. Rom., VII., 523 seq.; cf. BICCI, Boccapaduli, 364 n. The bull was occasioned by Canisius and Possevino, who raised complaints about the reported appointments of Protestants to posts in Italian universities; see CANISIUS Epist., IV., 653 seq., 688. Concerning the difficulty of enforcing the bull in German universities, *ibid.* 790. Cf. KNÖPFLER, Kelchbewegung, 208; HOLDEN, La profession de foi à Fribourg au 16^e siècle, Fribourg in Switzerland, 1898 (Diss.). See also MOHNIKE, Urkundl. Geschichte der sog. *Professio fidei Trident.* und einiger anderer röm.-kathol. Bekenntnisse, Griefswald, 1882; BRUGI, Gli scolari dello studio di Padova nel cinquecento, Padua, 1903.

² See Kirchenlexikon of Freiburg, V²., 683 seq.

³ Sess. 25, Contin.

⁴ For an appreciation of the prohibition of books cf. Hist-pol. Blätter, XXXVII. (1856), 561 seqq.

⁵ For the perplexities caused by the Index of Paul IV. cf. ŠUSTA, I., 17; CANISIUS Epist., II., 377, 425, 444 seq., 450; HILGERS 198 seqq., 488 seqq.

⁶ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 277 seqq.

assuring reply.¹ The complaints against the Index of his predecessor continued under Pius IV ;² the Pope, indeed, had already determined, immediately after his accession, not to withhold from public use such books by heretical writers as dealt with indifferent questions under the guise of religion. He expressed himself in this sense to Lainez in March, 1560,³ and the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, also granted similar full powers,⁴ and in this way the work upon the revision of the Index was begun.⁵ At the beginning of the following year Lainez was able to put forward the proposal that anything which went beyond the general ordinances of the canon law should be removed from the existing Index, on the ground that such prohibitions were a snare for many souls and were of advantage to only a very few people.⁶ These suggestions

¹ Canisius to Lainez, May 27 and August 6, 1559, CANISIUS Epist., II., 425, 500.

² ŠUSTA, I., 17 *seq.* On August 25, 1560, in a special brief addressed to him (printed in WIRZ, Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte, XXI., 379 ; ŠUSTA, I., 19) Pius IV. explains the mistake by which the humanist, Glareanus, had been included in the Index. He deplores the inaccuracies of the compilers of the Index, who were men subject to human frailties, and declares that he gladly counts Glareanus among Catholic writers, and that nothing suspect had been reported concerning him in Rome. The Holy See loves all its sons, "doctos vero homines, hoc est tui similes, etiam eximie deligit."

³ "esser l' animo suo che li libri heretici fossino prohibiti, ma non li altri." Polanco to Canisius on March 2, 1560, CANISIUS Epist., II., 604.

⁴ Polanco to Canisius on March 24, 1560, *ibid.*, 614 ; *cf.* NADAL, Epistolae, IV., 61, 63.

⁵ CANISIUS Epist., II., 618 ; *cf.* 633. CALENZIO, Documenti, 246. According to the *Avviso di Roma of March 9, 1560 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library) four Cardinals were in consultation upon the reform of the Index. According to the *Avviso di Roma of February 10, 1560, Cardinal Madruzzo had raised objections to the mode of procedure of the Grand Inquisitor : in his condemnations he had not sufficiently taken into consideration the contents of the books.

⁶ Polanco to Canisius, January 25, 1561, CANISIUS Epist., III., 27.

met with much approval in a Congregation of Cardinals and learned men,¹ and on January 24th, 1561, Seripando was instructed to devote himself to the work of revising the Index.² During February and March conferences were held upon the subject³ and on March 16th the decision was arrived at in a secret consistory to put the modifications into force.⁴ On May 17th Borromeo was able to hold out to the legates of the Council at Trent the prospect of the speedy appearance of the revised Index; the new list was to be drawn up in such a manner that the public could not reasonably find anything to object to in it.⁵ At the same time an endeavour was made to put a stop to the flood of Protestant writings by the setting up of a printing press in Rome, which was entrusted to Paulus Manutius.⁶ Cardinals Scotti, Vitelli, Mula and Morone were charged to make it their business to promote this new undertaking.⁷

The hope of the early publication of the revised Index was not realized, but in its place there was issued on June 14th, 1561, an order from the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, which anticipated several of the modifications of the later Tridentine Index.⁸ After the reassembling of the Council, the whole

¹ Polanco to Nadal, February 16, 1561, NADAL, Epist., I., 388.

² Seripando in MERKLE, II., 463.

³ *Ibid.*, 463, 464. *Hoggi è stata fatta congregazione et s' ha trattato principalmente sopra il catalogo delli libri condannati da Paolo 4^o. It will be revised. Avviso di Roma of February 8, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 251, Vatican Library). Cf. EHSES, VIII., 250, n. 2.

⁴ Seripando in MERKLE, II., 464.

⁵ "Sarà di tal maniera che il mondo havrà causa di potersene ragionevolmente contentare"; in ŠUSTA, I., 19.

⁶ ŠUSTA, I., 83.

⁷ Morone to Capilupi, June 20, 1652, in Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 114 *seq.* In this letter instructions are given to Capilupi to prevent the reprinting of the publication of Pole on the Council, which had been undertaken by the Venetian printer, Ziletti.

⁸ HILGERS in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXVIII. (1921), 120 *seq.* Here the decree is published from a Vatican codex, but there must be other impressions in existence as well

matter was referred to the synod by the brief of January 14th, 1562.¹

At that moment those assembled at Trent were keenly discussing the question whether the synod, which was about to be opened, was to be looked upon as a continuation of the former Council or not.² A subject of discussion, therefore,

(*ibid.* 121). It was sent to Spain as having been published, but it was kept back for the time being by the Grand Inquisitor, Valdès. Cf. J. A. LLORENTE, *Hist. crit. de l' Inquisition d' Espagne*, trad. de par A. Pellier, I., 471 *seq.* Paris, 1818. In the introduction to the decree it is stated that Pius IV. had recognized that the censures contained in the recently published Index were a stumbling block to many persons. The mitigations have reference to those books which had been prohibited simply because the author or translator was suspect, or the name of the author was not given, as well as to editions of the Vulgate with suspect notes and commentaries, to the medical and botanical works of Leonhard Fuchs, and the manual of Canon Law by Molinaeus. With the removal of the notes and passages contrary to faith, these books can now be allowed, as also may be, after careful examination, the juridical works of Ulrich Zasius. The remark that Latin dictionaries (by heretical writers) and Bibles in the vernacular may be permitted subject to the prescriptions contained in the Index (which ?) is enigmatical. This can hardly have reference to the Index of Paul IV. ; it would seem that Ghislieri must have had in view the future rules 4 and 5 of the Tridentine Index. Above all, in the books now allowed, the names of heretical authors and translators must be removed.—In order to obtain the free circulation of the works of Zasius, his sons, in September, 1562, obtained from the University of Freiburg, a testimonial to the orthodoxy of their father (REUSCH, I., 364) and also wrote to the Pope (without date, but apparently before September, in *Concilio, 74, Papal Secret Archives). They cannot have known that a whole year previously, Ghislieri had anticipated their wish. In other respects it would seem that the decree of June 14, 1561, has left but little trace.

¹ EHSES, VIII., 279. The forces that were so actively at work in connection with the Index, wrote Calini on January 29, 1562, have so far produced no results, "se non che ha scoperto infinite difficoltà." BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 212.

² Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 265.

such as the Index, which had no connection whatever with this question, was very welcome to the legates of the Council. It soon became evident, however, that the condemnation of Protestant books would have just as great an effect in keeping the innovators away from Trent as the announcement that the former Council, which was so detested by the Protestants, was to be continued. It was hoped to avoid this difficulty by setting the work on the Index on foot immediately, but deferring the declaration of the result until the close of the Council.¹ The further objection, that a Council could not correct the work of a Pope, was easily dealt with by the fact that the Pope had himself ordered the revision of the Roman Index. A Papal brief containing this order was issued on January 14th, 1562, and was read aloud in the general congregation of January 30th.²

In view of the excitement which the severe condemnation of books by Paul IV. had aroused, a speedy decision by the Council on the question of the Index could not fail to have a salutary effect. A decree was therefore prepared immediately after the opening of the Council, to be presented at the next Session; this, however, only announced the resolution that a commission of the members of the Council should confer on the subject of the existing Index, and upon suspected books. All those whom it concerned were invited to submit their observations on the subject with full confidence to the Council. On January 27th, the legates laid the matter of the Index before the fathers as the principal subject for discussion.³ The Council decided by an overwhelming majority, in five

¹ The legates to Borromeo, December 18, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 129. MENDOÇA, 636 *seq.*

² THEINER, I., 678. BONDONUS, 556. SICKEL, Konzil, 269. BECCADELLI, III., 5. EHSES, VIII., 306.

³ THEINER, I., 677. SICKEL, 269. BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 212. The legates wrote on January 29, 1562, to Borromeo: "In una congregatione privata signammo hieri molti prelati parte all' indice, parte al catechismo et parte al decreto che s' haverà da formare." ŠUSTA, II., 13; POGIANI Epist., II., xviii. Cf. EHSES, VIII., 304 *seq.*

general congregations,¹ that a new Index should be drawn up, and the list of Paul IV. revised.² A commission,³ appointed on February 12th, submitted on the 17th the draft of a decree, which led men to expect a revision.⁴ After most careful deliberation, in three further congregations, the new decree was drawn up in the form⁵ in which it was, with a few subsequent alterations, made public at the solemn session of February 26th, the XVIIIth of the Council, and the second under Pius IV.

The commission for the revision of the Index was appointed on February 17th, even before the publication of the decree. It was composed of six archbishops, nine bishops, one Benedictine abbot, and the Generals of the Observants and the Augustinians.⁶ The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von

¹ Of January 30, February 6, 9, 10 and 12; see THEINER, I., 678 *seq.*, 680 *seq.*, 682 *seq.*; PALEOTTO, *ibid.*, II., 535; BECCADELLI, III., 5 *seq.*; EHSES, VIII., 306-25.

² THEINER, I., 685. EHSES, VIII., 325.

³ It consisted of the Archbishop of Zara, Muzio Calini, Bishops Egidio Foscarari of Modena, Giacomo Maria Sala of Viviers, Antonio Agustino of Lerida, and a Benedictine abbot. ŠUSTA, II., 24; *cf.* THEINER, I., 685; BECCADELLI, III., 7; EHSES, VIII., 325 n. 2.

⁴ See EHSES., VIII., 329.

⁵ In MERKLE, II., 477. Another form of the decree (*ibid.*, 478) drafted by the Archbishop of Rossano, the future Urban VII., was only of practical importance in that it led to the changing of the last sentence of the first form (*ibid.*, 477 *seq.*); see Paleotto in THEINER, II., 543. The original vote of the Archbishop of Rossano in EHSES, VIII., 336 *seq.*, n. 231, D.

⁶ They were the archbishops, Anton Brus von Müglitz of Prague, Giovanni Trevisano, Patriarch of Venice, Sebastiano Leccavella of Naxos, Ludovico Beccadelli of Ragusa, Guglielmo Pavesi of Sorrento, Bartol. de Martyribus of Braga, the bishops Tommaso Caselli of Cava, Ottaviano Preconio of Ariano, Egidio Foscarari of Modena, Urb. Vigerio of Sinigaglia, Jeronimo de Velasco of Oviedo, Antonio Agustino of Lerida, Domenico Bollani of Brescia, Niccolò Sfrondato of Cremona, Girolamo Trevisano of Verona, Eutichio de Cordes (of Antwerp), the abbot of S. Fortunato near

Müglitz, acted as a kind of president at the discussions, which were held at his house.¹ Every possible care was taken that all the churches which were represented at the Council should have a seat and vote on the commission. At the request of the legates, the Grand Inquisitor sent to the seat of the Council all the documents which could throw light on the Index of Paul IV., for the use of the commission.² By a brief of February 7th, 1563, the Pope extended the powers of the commission by granting it permission to examine and form a judgment upon books which were not included in the Index of Paul IV.³

The invitation of the XVIIIth session, to submit claims and requests to the commission of the Index, was responded to from various quarters.⁴ The answers given at Trent clearly

Bassiano, the General of the Franciscan Observants, Francesco Zamorra, and the General of the Augustinians, Cristoforo di Padova (THEINER, I., 686; BECCADELLI, III., 7, 320). On July 29, 1563, the legates reported to Borromeo that there had been appointed to the commission "circa 22 padri" (ŠUSTA, IV., 144). Later on, it would seem, the number was again increased, and that the theologians were also called in for consultation. Together with REUSCH (I., 318) who makes various mistakes in the names, see EHSES, VIII., 328 *seq.*

¹ The legates of the Council to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 145. Cf. SICKEL, Konzil, 294, 531; STEINHERZ, Briefe, 55.

² Borromeo to the legates, February 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 30; *cf.* 16.

³ Printed in ŠUSTA, III., 215.

⁴ In April, 1562, Gelli had recourse to the Florentine ambassador, that he might intercede on behalf of a prohibited book written by Gelli himself (ŠUSTA, II., 348). On April 30, Beccadelli informed Lelio Torelli, secretary of the Duke of Florence, that if Gelli wished to explain or alter any passages of his book, he could do so, "perche noi come giudici benigni, e suoi amorevoli, procureremo di liberarlo di questa nota" (BECCADELLI, III., 324). Gelli replied on May 6 by protesting his submission to the Congregation of the Index (*ibid.*, 325 *seq.*; the censures of the theologians of the Index upon his book, *ibid.*, 195-8). The Duke of Urbino sent two works of Machiavelli in an expurgated form, and begged that they might be permitted in this form (ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*). The

prove the endeavour to show all possible clemency. In July, Florentine envoy Strozzi sought to induce his Duke to have Boccaccio expurgated as well, and to seek permission for the expurgated form (*ibid.*). At Trent Beccadelli declared that it was impossible to expurgate Boccaccio without spoiling it: let certain obscene or impious expressions be expunged, and say nothing about the rest, "come si è fatto del Bérnia e certi altri" (BECCADELLI, III., 388; *cf.* vol. XIV. of this work, p. 279). For later attempts to expurgate Machiavelli and Boccaccio see DEJOB, 149 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*, 393 *seqq.* In a letter of August 8, 1562, Ghislieri instructed the nuncio in Venice, J. Capilupi, to suppress in an edition of Boccaccio which was being prepared there, some possible stories opposed to religion. Ghislieri confessed that he had never read Boccaccio (Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 113 *seq.*). On February 22, 1563, the Jews asked that they might be allowed an expurgated edition of the Talmud (ŠUSTA, III., 236 *seqq.*, MENDOÇA, 106. G. WOLF, Das tridentinische Konzil und der Talmud, Vienna, 1895. *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 215). The writings of Raimundus Lullus were removed from the Index at the beginning of September, 1563, in accordance with the request of his countrymen (MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, Los heterodoxos españoles, I., 537 *seq.*, Madrid, 1880. Polanco to Nadal, September 7, 1563, in NADAL, Epist. II., 380. *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, III., 7; GRISAR, Disput., I., 407; SICKEL, Berichte, II., 128). The so-called Apostolic Constitutions which were prohibited by Ghislieri as apochryphal and heretical, and which also met with opposition in other quarters (Paleotto in THEINER, II., 576) were expunged from the Index at Trent in accordance with the remonstrances of their editor, Bovio (*cf.* letter of the legates of September 20, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 255 *seq.*). Beccadelli worked in favour of Flaminio (BECCADELLI, I., 30, 64; III., 321, 357); the Bibles of Isidore Clario and Giovanni Campensis were removed from the Index on July 27, 1562 (*ibid.*, 357) in the same way as the *Centoni* of Lelio Capilupi were liberated by the intervention of his brother, the ambassador J. Capilupi (Arch. stor. Lomb., 1893, 115). In the case of Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, who had been accused before the Inquisition of having declared orthodox certain propositions denounced to him by the Dominican, Leonardo da Udine, a commission of 25 members of the Council pronounced (September 17, 1563) in favour of Grimani (PALLAVICINI, 22, 3, 10; 11, 1; ŠUSTA, II., 173 *seq.*; IV., 254 *seq.*); the sentence in THEINER, II., 410.

1563, the mild sentence passed on the much-discussed Catechism of Archbishop Carranza of Toledo even led to serious complaints on the part of the Spanish ambassador, and consequently to dissensions in the commission itself.¹ The fathers were most anxious to form their opinion from knowledge drawn from the books themselves, and not from the testimony of others. In the course of the year 1562, the Jesuit, Nadal, purchased heretical books for the Council at Antwerp,² and in December of the same year a memorial from the fathers charged with the censorship of books, complained of the want of the necessary volumes, as they did not wish to give an opinion concerning things which they had not personally investigated.³ Borromeo therefore charged the legates to have the desired books purchased at the expense of the Holy See, either in Venice or Germany.⁴ Many people were even of opinion that the fathers of the Council read too many prohibited books.⁵

As the result of these investigations it became more and more evident how much the list of Paul IV. was in need of revision. It had been discovered, writes Archbishop Anton Brus,⁶ that "several pious and learned persons" had been unjustly "not a little burdened" by the Roman Index; several of them have already been "liberated."⁷ Further

¹ The legates to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 144 *seqq.* Cf. the bibliography there published, p. 147, as well as Antonio Brus to King Maximilian II., in STEINHERZ, Briefe, 110; Philip II., to the Count di Luna, August 2, 1563, in *Collección de documentos inéditos*, XCI., 483 *seq.*

² NADAL, Epist., II., 96.

³ ŠUSTA, II., 347.

⁴ September 16, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 7.

⁵ The memorial on this subject to Pius IV., and the reply of Borromeo in ŠUSTA, III., 321, 323.

⁶ To King Maximilian II., June 18, 1563, in STEINHERZ, Briefe, 109.

⁷ Namely Giov. Campensis, Giorgio Agricola, Henricus Glareanus and Ulrich Zasius. *Ibid.*, 110.

"liberations" followed.¹ The writings of Erasmus, which Archbishop Brus would have preferred to license in their entirety,² gave the commission much trouble. Many difficulties were also caused by consideration for Philip II. of Spain, who did not wish that certain books, which were forbidden by the Spanish Inquisition, should be omitted from the Roman Index.³

After the close of the Council, the results of this great labour, the so-called Tridentine Index, were once more examined in Rome by a deputation of four members,⁴ and were then published by a Papal brief of March 24th, 1564.⁵ While the Index of Paul IV. contained substantially only a list of prohibited books and writers, the Tridentine Index consists of two divisions, the so-called ten rules, and the list of writings. At the beginning there is the brief of confirmation of Pius IV., and a preface composed by the secretary of the commission, Fureiro.

The inclusion of the rules is a very important change. It had been realized that it would be quite impossible to enumerate and prohibit all the writings against the Church which had already appeared or would appear in the future.⁶ It is ex-

¹ In September, 1563, Joh. Hartung (*ibid.*, 134) who had been condemned on account of a translation of a Confession of Faith of the Greeks, was removed from the Index. On September 6, 1563, Brus asked for the works of Geiler von Kaisersberg from the cathedral chapter of Augsburg (*ibid.*, 135): of his writings the Tridentine commission only retained on the Index the edition of the *Narrenschiff* prepared by the future apostate Otther. REUSCH, I., 370.

² REUSCH, I., 320.

³ Colección de documentos inéditos, IX., 240; XCI., 484, 491.

⁴ Pauli Manutii Epistolæ, Venice, 1573, l. 6, n. 25, p. 379. Archbishop Muzio Calini was a member of this deputation; *ibid.*

⁵ On April 24, 1564, Borromeo sent a copy to the nuncio Delfino. STEINHERZ, IV., III; cf. DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 562.

⁶ In the discussions on the Index, cf. the votes under *Braccarenensis* (Braga) and *Chironensis* (Dionysius Græcus), in THEINER, I., 679; EHSES, VIII., 307.

pressly stated in the preface that it would have been possible to include many other names in the list of those whose works are prohibited in their entirety, but that it had not been the intention or the function of the Council to seek all these out. They had been satisfied with the list of Paul IV., and left its completion to the bishops and inquisitors.

The rules of the Tridentine Index are intended to supplement the list of condemned books by means of a general and comprehensive prohibition, but at the same time they show a very considerable mitigation of the legislation concerning books. The list of Paul IV., it is stated in the preface by Fureiro, had in many places not been accepted, because scholars could not, without great difficulty, do without many of the books which it condemned; besides this, many things in that list required explanation. The rules of the Tridentine Index provided for both these cases. The books of the actual propagators of heresy (heresiarchs), indeed, were condemned now as they had been before, but the writings of other heretics which did not treat of religion, were, under certain conditions, permitted.¹ Bibles and controversial writings in the vernacular were not allowed to all indiscriminately, but only, with episcopal permission, to such as would derive benefit from such books.² As far as books of a lascivious nature were concerned, all actually obscene literature was unconditionally forbidden; certain works of the ancient classics, which were regarded as models of style, could not at any rate be placed in the hands of young people.³ Finally, books on divination were forbidden. Only the reading and keeping of heretical books was punished by excommunication, and all books must be submitted to censorship before publication.

As far as the second part of the new Index, the list of

¹ Rules 2, 3, 5, 8.

² Rules 4, 6. The Council refers to persons who do not understand Latin, namely, in the opinion of the day, who are wanting in higher education. These especially are not to explain the Sacred Scriptures themselves, but are to accept the explanation of those set over them.

³ Rule 7.

prohibited books, is concerned, the fathers "after long deliberation, thought it best to keep to the earlier list which had recently been compiled by the Inquisition, with a few exceptions and additions."¹ Even here, however, the severity of Paul IV. was considerably mitigated. In the first place Pius IV. set aside both of the appendixes in which his predecessor had condemned a number of editions of the Bible, and had named numerous printers, the whole of whose output he had forbidden. In addition to these changes, not a few errors and obscure passages were removed. The three classes, however, which Paul IV. had distinguished, were retained in the new Index: the list of heretics, all of whose writings were held to be forbidden;² pernicious books, both by Catholic and non-Catholic authors, whose names were known; and those whose authors were unknown.

The commission of the Index, however, removed many names from the first to the second class, especially that of Erasmus.³ Even in the case of writers in the first class, it is no longer stated that they are open heretics, but only that they are either heretics or suspected of heresy. The inclusion of an author in the first class does not therefore declare him to be a heretic without further steps being taken. It signified, too, an important change that many books were not unconditionally condemned, but only pending their emendation,⁴ as for instance, Gelli and Boccaccio, on behalf of whom intercession had been made before the commission of the Index.⁵

After the publication of the new Index, the Pope, on August 27th, 1564, gave the Cardinals the two-fold permission to read

¹ Introduction by Fureiro.

² Even though in this class mention is only made of the names of persons, the sentence of the Index applies, not to persons, but to their books. Cf. the "vota" of the fathers of the Council in THEINER, I., under *Leriansis*, p. 680, *Vivariensis*, p. 682, *Vestanus*, p. 684, *Papiensis*, p. 684, *Nucerinus*, p. 685.

³ Cf. *supra* p. 21.

⁴ Rule 8.

⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 18, n.4.

forbidden books themselves, and to allow others to read them.¹ A decree of the Inquisition had already endeavoured to prevent heretical books from being smuggled into Rome and sold there.²

Like the new Index, the Roman Catechism was, in no small degree, the work of the fathers of the Council of Trent.³

A complaint had been made in the general congregation of April 5th, 1546, of the abuse by which, for the sake of the study of the profane sciences and of useless scholastic questions, the Sacred Scriptures were passed over, with the result that Christian people were less well instructed in Christian doctrine than in anything else, and that neither parents nor teachers were able to instruct young people in the Christian rule of life. In order to pave the way to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, the Council was begged to compile a concise introductory manual, which, avoiding long disputations, should simply and faithfully comprise the principal points of Christian doctrine, and which would afford the students of various countries a text-book and introduction to the Sacred Scriptures. At the same time a catechism for the instruction of children and the illiterate should be published both in Latin and, in the vernacular.⁴

Both these suggestions were unanimously adopted. Only a few maintained that it was unnecessary to draw up a manual of the kind suggested as similar works had already been provided by Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Cyprian and Erasmus.⁵ The Council expressed no further views on this point, and in the reform decree of the fifth Session no decision

¹ HILGERS, 502.

² Of May 13, 1562; *ibid.*, 497.

³ A. Reginaldus, O. Pr., *Dissertatio de Catechismi Romani auctoritate*, printed in NAT. ALEXANDER, *Hist. eccl.*, Supp. I., and before the publication of the Roman catechism, Toulouse, 1648. CANISII *Epist.*, III., 728-34 *seq.* ST. L. CORVIN V. SKIBNIEWSKI, *Gesch. des Röm. Katechismus*, Rome-Ratisbon, 1903.

⁴ EHSES, II., 72 *seq.*, 106 n. 3.

⁵ Discussions of April 13 and 15, 1546, *ibid.*, 108-10; 114-19; summary of the results, *ibid.*, 113, 120.

was arrived at, regarding either the manual or the catechism, probably because the Council did not wish to refer to matters which were not yet in existence.¹ In the meantime the question remained in abeyance, and the broken threads were only again taken up in the third period of the Council.

In the interval the Emperor, Ferdinand I., took up the matter of the catechism. In the year 1551 he requested the University of Vienna and the Jesuits to carry out these two plans, which the Council had sanctioned but never carried into effect: the compilation of a catechism and of a manual of theology.² It is due to Ferdinand that the "Imperial" catechism was compiled by Canisius, and it is also to his continued requests for a manual of theology that we owe the celebrated text-book for the use of parish priests which, under the title of "Catechism of the Council of Trent" or the "Roman Catechism," has gone through edition after edition, and is of great importance in the Church even to the present day. When the Emperor, in 1562, appointed the Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von Mùglitz, and Count Sigismund von Thun as his envoys at the Council, by the advice of his chancellor, Seld, on October 20th, 1561, he charged them to see that a catechism was drawn up.³ In the instructions given to the envoys⁴ it is stated that they are to insist that a compendium of Christian doctrine shall be published by the Council itself, either in a detailed or a concise form, or in both, in accordance with which doctors, parish priests, preachers, professors and schoolmasters in Catholic districts can regulate their teaching.

Archbishop Brus had an opportunity for the first time of going into the matter at the Tridentine commission of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 120. As early as the draft presented on May 1 and 7 (*ibid.*, 122 *seq.*, 125 *seq.*) there is no longer any mention of either the catechism or manual.

² *Methodum doctrinae catholicae*. BRAUNSBERGER, Entstehung und erste Entwicklung der Katechismen des. sel. Petrus Canisius, Freiburg, 1903, 12.

³ SICKEL in Arch. für österr. Geschichte, XLV. (1871), 35.

⁴ SICKEL, Konzil, 258.

Index. In the lists of Paul IV. the prohibition of catechisms had been so general that it might almost be thought that all the existing catechisms were condemned. Therefore, as Brus wrote to the Emperor on April 28th, 1562, the commission of the Index determined to request the Council to draw up a reliable and authoritative compendium of Catholic doctrine. All other catechisms were then to be prohibited, with the exception of that of Canisius, the contents of which could, for the most part, be incorporated in the new Tridentine catechism.¹ In the celebrated reform libellum of the Emperor Ferdinand similar demands were made by the Imperial envoys ; the new manual, it is here stated, must specially deal with the disputed doctrines, and, out of consideration for uneducated parish priests, must be expressed in clear terms and in a popular style ; the book must be issued in the name of the Council, the Emperor and the princes, and it must be made incumbent on all parish priests, whether Catholic or not, not to deviate in any point from its teaching. One of the many catechisms by Catholic authors should be chosen and introduced as part of the educational equipment in schools for the young.² The King of France, in a memorial which he caused to be handed to the Council of Trent by his envoys on January 3rd, 1563, identified himself with the desire for a catechism expressed by Ferdinand.³

At the beginning of March, 1563, a deputation on the question of the catechism was already at work.⁴ Seripando,

¹ *Ibid.*, 294. The petition of the Archbishop of Prague to Cardinal Gonzaga of May 5, 1562, and Gonzaga's reply in STEINHERZ, Briefe, 59 *seq.*

² LE PLAT, V., 252 *seq.*

³ *Postulata regis Galliae art. 13*, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 8 ; LE PLAT, V., 637. Cf. the reply of the legates to art. 29. (LE PLAT, V., 641).

⁴ From Jan. 28, 1562, there is mention of this deputation, but none of the fact. The proposal was also put forward " di far un catechismo, et con quello tener i padri et theologi in esercitio " (the legates to Borromeo, February 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 23). According to Seripando (in ŠUSTA, III., 260) at the conference

shortly before his death (March 17th, 1563) distributed the various headings of the catechism to the theologians for consideration,¹ and at the end of July the Council was urging the speedy compilation of the catechism.² The Pope, as Mendoça, the Bishop of Salamanca, wrote at the time, wished for it, everyone was asking for it, and it was a very important thing for Christendom. The different parts of the proposed

of the legates on March 5, it was discussed . . . "ut pro catechismo deputati duos, quos vellent, sibi theologos adiungerent, ut deputati ad indicem librorum secretarium Camilli loco, quem vellent asciscerent." In contradiction to a supposition which has often been repeated, the commission for the catechism was then distinct from the deputation of the Index, which would also seem to be the case from the 25th session of the Council (December 4). At the beginning of March we have as the commencement of the work the reply of the legates to art. 13 of the French demands, to the effect that certain prelates had been charged to compose a catechism, that they had begun it, and would soon complete it. The Roman comments on the replies of the legates reached Trent on March 6. ŠUSTA, III., 262.

¹ CHRISTOPHORUS SANTO TIS, *Theatrum sanctorum Patrum*, Burgos, 1607, Prologus, in SKIBNIEWSKI, 106. Santo Tis was charged by Seripando to prepare the article on the Church. The dissertation of the Franciscan, Michele Medina, on the fourth article of the Creed (the passion, death, and burial of Christ) is published (*Explicationes in quantum symboli apostolici articulum*, Venice, 1564). It begins thus: "Duo nobis ab ill. et rev. legatis in singulorum articulorum symboli apost. interpretatione demandantur; prius, ut quid christianus homo credere teneatur, explicemus; posterius, ut quid in eisdem explicandis evangelici ministri populis ingerere debeant, adnotemus." The first is set out from f. 3-13, the second from f. 13-15. The Roman catechism differs widely from the explanation of Medina.

² MERKLE, II., 465. At the beginning of June the legates promised that immediately after the next session (July 15) there would be set up a deputation of fathers, "qui catechismum et homiliarium sive postillas conscribent" and a deputation for the ritual (the word *legenda* in Sickel is perhaps a misprint), the breviary, missal, and other liturgical books. Brus and Draskowich to the Emperor, June 9, 1563, in SICKEL, *Konzil*, 539.

text-book were again given to the theologians. Spaniards were selected for the treatment of the profession of faith ; it would appear, Mendoça remarks with joyful pride in this connection, that it was his nation to whom the faith could be safely entrusted. The task of explaining the Lord's Prayer was entrusted to doctors from Louvain and France.¹ A list of September 9th gives the names of the theologians to whom the treatment of the Ten Commandments and the Sacraments were to be entrusted.² Two catechisms were in contemplation, a larger one for teachers and a smaller one for the pupils.³

In spite, however, of all these appointments, the work had hardly advanced at all at the end of four months, and it was therefore, at the end of October, handed over to four other theologians, among whom mention may be made in the first place of the Archbishop of Zara, Muzio Calini.⁴ To the future Cardinal Paleotto was entrusted the task of producing, from the drafts of the theologians, a homogeneous and polished work.⁵

After the dissolution of the Council the work upon the catechism was looked upon in Rome as having only been begun. Archbishops Muzio Calini of Zara, and Lionardo Marini of Lanciano, together with the Bishop of Modena, Egidio Foscarari, were given the task of completing it.⁶

¹ MENDOÇA, 689. Mendoça's theologian, Funtidueña, received the article on the coming of Christ for the Judgment.

² *Deputatio theologorum pro catechismo*, printed in SKIBNIEWSKI, 108 ; cf. 31.

³ MENDOÇA, *loc. cit.*

⁴ MENDOÇA on October 26 and 27, 1563, in MERKLE, II., 706.

⁵ SANTO TIS, *loc. cit.* For the part taken by Paleotto in the Council, cf. MERKLE in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XI. (1897), 379 *seq.*

⁶ "Datum est negotium a pontifice max. tribus episcopis, ut ex decreto tridentini concilii commentarios componerent christianæ disciplinæ" (Pogiani on December 25, 1564, Epist. III., 448). Francesco Torres bears witness to the collaboration of Marini and Foscarari in a letter to Hosius dated Rome, April 17, 1564, in Cyprianus, 356 : "in breviario laborant Mutinensis et Lancianensis, laborant quoque in catechismo." For the part played by Calini cf. LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., II., xxi. According

Borromeo's zeal in the matter can be seen from many remarks in his letters. The principal assistant of the bishops was the Portuguese Dominican, Francisco Fureiro, who had already distinguished himself at the Council; he was then brought to Rome, where he enjoyed the special friendship of Borromeo.¹ Marini and Foscarari were also Dominicans, to which Order the principal credit for the Roman catechism must be ascribed.

What the theologians had drafted was finally given to the most distinguished humanist of his times, Giulio Pogiani, that he might perfect it as far as the language was concerned. The celebrated stylist devoted the whole of his time during the last four months of the year 1564 to this honourable task,² and it is due to him that the catechism may be described, even as to its style, as a classical work. In other respects as well, ecclesiastical literature was quick to make use of the achievements of humanism. The decrees of the Council of Trent are written in a Latin which, for the purpose, one could not wish improved. The theologians of the new scholasticism, such as Melchior Cano, Canisius and their successors, attached no small importance to a good Latin style.³ The surprising fact therefore

to BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 192, Calini wrote the two first chapters of the catechism, on the profession of faith and the sacraments. For other collaborators *cf.* SKIBNIEWSKI, 51.

¹ Borromeo caused him to give him daily theological lectures (BASCAPÈ, 10). The letters of recommendation from Borromeo on behalf of Fureiro to the Cardinal-infante and the King of Portugal in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 522 *seq.*; *cf.* 530. Fureiro was also engaged upon the revision of the Index. *Brief of March 8, 1564, to the Cardinal-infante of Portugal (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 125, Papal Secret Archives). RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53.

² Pogiani to Annibale Minali, December 25, 1564, Pogiani Epist. III., 449.

³ The new scholasticism "has not only enriched theology with new discipline, but has also set up a classical model in every kind of exposition. The translation of the Metaphysics of Aristotle by Fonseca is beautiful latinity. The works of Melchior Cano, Canisius, Petavius, Toletus and Maldonatus, Bellarmine and Lessius stand out for their pure latinity and ease of style, which find the right word for every idea with exactitude and ease. The

emerges that a tendency, which appeared for a long time to be given up to the worship of pagan ideals, and which had not otherwise succeeded in creating any enduring works, now at last, in the service of the Church, exercised an influence which has outlived the ages.

On April 13th, 1565, Borromeo was able to write that, principally owing to the labours and skill of Fureiro, the catechism was at length nearly completed.¹ The hope, however, that he had expressed even at the beginning of the year, that the book would be printed in a few days, was not to be realized during the reign of Pius IV.²

The same bishops who had been entrusted with the completion of the Index and the Catechism, had also, for the greater part, the task of reforming the Breviary and the Missal.³

After the holy sacrifice of the mass the only divine worship as such officially used by the Church was the prayer in choir which was distributed over the seven periods of the day, and consisted of the psalms and lessons taken from the Sacred Scriptures, from the Fathers of the Church, and, on the feasts of the saints, from the story of their lives. This prayer of the canonical hours was also much used and valued by the faithful; the alteration of the breviary, which is the basis of the prayer in choir, was followed by serious disturbances

Council of Trent is as classical in its style as the Roman Catechism is excellent." (R. HERKENRATH in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.* XIII., 1889, 626 *seq.*). Seripando desired that the canons and doctrine of the sacrament of orders among the decrees of the Council of Trent should be corrected from the point of view of style by Pendaso. ŠUSTA, III., 18, n. 3.

¹ To the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal, in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 522.

² To Delfino, January 20, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 276; *cf.* 149.

³ *Cf.* SCHMID in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, LXVI. (1884), 451-83, 621-64. See BÄUMER, *Gesch. des Breviers*, Freiburg, 1895; BATTIFOL, *Histoire du Bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1911; TACCHI VENTURI, 114-25.

in Saragossa.¹ It can therefore easily be understood that even the secular princes, in their proposals for reform at the Council, should have taken prayer in choir and the breviary into consideration. In his ordinance for reform on July 14th, 1548,² Charles V. issued prescriptions as to the prayer of the canonical hours on the ground that in the course of time much that was unsuitable and apochryphal had crept in ; the bishops should therefore remove these defects by the help of learned and pious men.³ Ferdinand I. renewed these complaints in his reform libellum of 1562, while at the same time he drew attention to another abuse, namely the excessive length of the breviary. In order to reach the end the clergy in choir hurried on the prayers to such an extent that one side could not understand the other, and the people in consequence despised divine worship, which feeling was also extended to the sermons. The breviary, missal, and other liturgical books must be examined and revised.⁴ The legates replied to these demands by saying that the reform of the missal and breviary would be entrusted to the fathers who were engaged upon the Index, but that neither the laity nor the clergy could make any complaint concerning the length of the breviary ; not the laity, because it was not necessary for them to take part in the prayer in choir, nor the clergy, because it was precisely for divine worship that they were there.⁵

As far as the Church was concerned, already for some time past, Leo X. and several provincial synods⁶ had intended to give a new form to the canonical hours, while Clement VII. had encouraged attempts at reform of the most various kinds. Zaccaria Ferreri, who had wished to see classical Latin intro-

¹ Memorial of Juan ab Arce to the Council of Trent, 1551, in BÄUMER, 404. Anal. Iuris Pontif., XXVI. (1886), 922.

² Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 424.

³ c. 4, in LE PLAT, IV., 77 seq.

⁴ LE PLAT, V., 243. Cf. the proposals made by the theologians to the Emperor Ferdinand on June 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 522 ; the advice of the Imperial orators at Trent, *ibid.*, 531.

⁵ N. 14, in LE PLAT, V., 387.

⁶ See SCHMID, *loc. cit.*, 478 seq.

duced into the breviary,¹ Gian Pietro Carafa and the Theatines, with their strictly ecclesiastical ideas for a revival, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Francisco Quiñones, who had greatly curtailed the prayer in choir, and in other respects as well had broken through the bounds which had been so strictly observed for a thousand years, all these had met with help and encouragement from the Pope.

Only the so-called Santa Croce breviary, issued by Quiñones in 1535, had had an important, if temporary, influence.² According to a declaration of Paul III., only the clergy who were very much occupied had the Papal dispensation to use this breviary, but soon afterwards several theologians declared that a special dispensation from the Pope was unnecessary,³ and many had availed themselves of this opinion.⁴ In forty years the work of Quiñones had gone through about a hundred editions, and in many places, as for example, several churches in Spain, had even come into common use by the faithful for prayer in choir.

¹ Cf. Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 208 *seq.*; BÄUMER, 387-90; TACCHI VENTURI, 117 *seqq.* In his collection of hymns, Ferreri promised to reform the whole breviary. Part of his work is certainly preserved in the office (and mass) of St. Casimir; see TACCHI VENTURI, 121.

² Cf. BÄUMER, 391 *seqq.* Reprint by J. Wickham Legg of the Antwerp edition of 1537, London, 1908 (Henry Bradshaw Society., Vol. XXXV). The Santa Croce breviary is of interest to England because it was one of the sources of the Book of Common Prayer. In 1533 Quiñones had on loan from the Vatican some codices of lives of the saints. MERCATI in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, VI. (1907), 243.

³ CANISIUS *Epist.*, III., 70 n. 4.

⁴ Hence Canisius declared that it was absolutely necessary that he and his subjects should have the faculty to allow the use of the new breviary (*ibid.*, 75). Examples of dispensations for the use of the Santa Croce breviary, *ibid.*, I., 346; *Cartas de s. Ignacio*, IV., 80, 346; BALUZE-MANSI, III., 513. Ignatius of Loyola had obtained for his Order permission to use the Santa Croce breviary; cf. the brief of Julius III., of June 3, 1545, *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, I., 11, Florence, 1892.

The Santa Croce breviary, however, did not fail to find many enemies. In 1551, the Spaniard, Juan ab Arce, addressed to the Council of Trent a memorial against the innovations of Quiñones.¹ After the third opening of the Council, in 1562, the Bishop of Huesco, Pedro Agustin, and all the bishops of Aragon, renewed their complaints to the Pope and the Council concerning the abuses to which the new breviary had given rise, and begged that the old Roman breviary, with the alterations planned by Paul IV., might be introduced throughout the whole Church.²

After Gian Pietro Carafa had received permission in 1524 and 1529 to draw up a new breviary and to test it in the Theatine Order, he had devoted himself zealously to this task, without, however, being able to obtain its approval from the irresolute Medici Pope. After Carafa had ascended the Papal throne as Paul IV., he again took up the work, together with the Theatine Cardinal Scotti and his confessor, Isachino, in collaboration with the future Cardinal Sirleto. Although it was not yet quite completed, the breviary of Paul IV. was adopted after his death by the Theatines in 1561, and soon afterwards was made the basis of the new arrangement of the canonical hours by the Council of Trent. The Carafa Pope had forbidden any further dispensations for the use of the Santa Croce breviary in 1558. On the strength of the memorial of the bishops of Aragon, the legates of the Council also sent the draft of a decree against the changes of Quiñones to Rome on November 23rd, 1562.³

Some six months were to elapse, however, before the reform of the breviary and missal was seriously undertaken at Trent.⁴ The first step was taken when the legates, on June 24th, 1563, asked to have the preliminary work of Paul IV. on the breviary,

¹ Printed in *Anal. Juris Pontif.*, XXVI. (1886), 784 *seqq.*, 911 *seqq.*

² ŠUSTA, III., 72 *seq.* Already in an extract from the reform proposals of the Spanish bishops there was expressed a wish for a common breviary and missal; *cf.* LE PLAT, V., 610.

³ BÄUMER, 418.

⁴ SICKEL, *Konzil*, I., 539.

then in the hands of Cardinal Scotti, and the work of Alessandro Pellegrini on the missal, sent to them from Rome for examination.¹ The so-called missal of Gregory the Great, which Cardinal Guise had seen in the Vatican Library, was also conveyed to Trent, carefully packed, at the end of October.² About the same time a deputation was finally appointed for the reform of the breviary and missal,³ but it soon became clear that the deputation would not be able to bring its task to a completion before the close of the Council.⁴

Just as hitherto the revision of the liturgical books had, for the most part, gone hand in hand with the work in connection with the catechism, so, both before and after the close of the Council, the completion of both these tasks was entrusted to the same bishops, namely Calini, Marini and Foscarari.⁵ In Rome the Pope gave them several assistants, among whom Sirleto and some members of the Theatine Order may be mentioned.⁶

¹ The legates to Borromeo, June 24, 1563, in POGIANI Epist., II., xviii; ŠUSTA, IV., 95. The work of Pellegrini was found by Card. Scotti; it was very incomplete (Borromeo, July 31 and Aug. 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 162, 172). The Roman commission for printing begged on July 28 that the printing of the new missal and breviary might be carried out in Rome (*ibid.* 158).

² Borromeo to the legates, Oct. 21, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 341; cf. 347.

³ MENDOÇA, 706. The Bishop of Faenza, Giov. Batt. Sighicelli, wrote on Nov. 4, 1563 to Sirleto: "Parmi intendere che gia siano stati deputati alcuni padri a revedere quello [breviario] di papa Paulo IV." See SCHMID, *loc. cit.* 627.

⁴ Mendoça, on Nov. 10, 1563, in MERKLE, II., 710.

⁵ A little while before his death Foscarari began a letter to the Pope, on Dec. 17, 1564, in which, contrary to his previous vote, he begs for the retention of the Little Office of Our Lady, as follows: "Etsi pro munere divini officii componendi r^{mis} archiepiscopis Lancian. [Lionardo Marini] et Iandrensi [Muzio Calini] mihique inuncto . . . ; published by LAGOMARSINI, Poggiani Epist., II., xxiii, and recently by MERCATI in Rassegna Gregoriana, X. (1911), 293. Cf. POGIANI Epist., II., xxi.

⁶ SCHMID, *loc. cit.* 628 *seqq.* Cf. the bull of Pius V. of July 9, 1568, prefixed to the editions of the breviary.

The commission based their labours on the principle that it was not a question of providing anything new, but only of restoring the ancient prayer book of the Church to its original purity. They accordingly went back to the oldest breviaries attainable. The greatest alterations occurred in the case of the lives of the saints, into which much that was unsuitable and apochryphal had crept.¹ The task of giving to the revised lives a suitable literary form again fell to the lot of the celebrated Giulio Pogiani.²

On June 3rd, 1564, Borromeo wrote to Delfino that great pains were being taken to complete the breviary and missal,³ but at the death of Pius IV. the printing of the two books had not yet been begun.

Paulus Manutius was summoned to Rome in 1561 to prepare correct editions of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church.⁴ The IVth Session of the Council had already ordered that in future the Vulgate must be printed as exactly as possible, and it was obvious that only the Roman See was in a position to carry out such a task.⁵ This work was also taken in hand under Pius IV.,⁶ but it would seem that it had made but little progress.

¹ SCHMID, 633.

² BASCAPÈ in Pogiani Epist., II., xii; cf. xxxiii.

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 135.

⁴ See *Epist. ad P. Victorium*, ed. Bandinius, I., lii, Florence, 1758. There was also question of printing the Greek text. See HILDEBRAND HÖPFL, *Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament* (Bibl. Studien, XIII.), 92, Freiburg, 1908.

⁵ Cf. EHSES, II., 29, 37.

⁶ On Oct. 21, 1562, Marsilio Caphano, "depositario della R. C. Apost. sopra la stampa," certified that he had received into his keeping from Ghislieri by the hand of Sirleto a very ancient codex of the Vulgate, which he was to return to whomsoever should be appointed by the "deputati sopra la stampa," Cardinals Scotti, Morone, Mula and Vitelli. The codex was to be compared with others, so that they might have a "Bibbia emendatissima" (VERCELLONE, *Variae lectiones*, I., xix, Rome, 1860). Already, immediately after the publication of the Tridentine decree upon the Vulgate, Sirleto, at the suggestion of Cardinal Cervini, had begun to collect various texts. HÖPFL, *loc. cit.* 9 seqq.

A new edition of the Fathers of the Church, especially the Greek Fathers, appeared to many people to be a necessity, as the text hitherto in use was looked upon as having been falsified by the heretics.¹ Charles Borromeo, by the Pope's orders, turned his attention to this matter as well. He endeavoured to obtain the services of the able Portuguese philologist, Achilles Stazio, for this undertaking,² and he encouraged the Archbishop of Corfù, who had sent some Greek codices to Rome, to search for unpublished works, assigning to him for this purpose a sum of money and a monthly stipend.³ The time had not arrived, however, for such an extensive undertaking; there was not a sufficiently clear appreciation of the difficulties and requirements of such a task, nor any very clear idea of the principles of textual criticism; above all, there was, for the moment, a lack of trained experts.

In the event it was necessary to wait until the end of the century before the world saw the completion of even those undertakings which the Council had originally intended to accomplish itself, but which, under the force of circumstances, it had been compelled to hand over to the Holy See. Several of the undertakings which had been put forward by the

¹ P. Manutius wrote to Pius IV. that he had been called to Rome "ut sacros praecipue libros ab haereticorum nefaria peste vindicatos, ederem quam liceret emendatissime" (Epistolae, 426; cf. 28). It is the intention of the Imperial envoys to propose to the Council of Trent that it should issue a decree "ut libri catholici biblicorum sacrorum et ss. patrum per haereticos depravati restituantur." Memorial of June 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 522; cf. EICHHORN, Hosius, II., 273 seq.

² BALUZE-MANSI, III., 525. Under Pius V. Stazio was employed in the composition of the Papal letters. P. MANUTIUS, Epistolae, 410.

³ BALUZE-MANSI, III., 526. Avanzato and Panvinio were given the task of examining the libraries of lower Italy in search of unpublished writings of the Fathers (RAYNALDUS, 1564, n.53). A *motuproprio of Jan. 8, 1564, created the office of a "correctore dei libri Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana copiatì scorrettamente." Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell'arch. segreto Vaticano 1374-1557 (*sic*!), n.3 (State Archives, Rome).

Imperial envoys, such as the popular catechism, and the book of sermons for the use of parish priests, were later on left, both by the Council and the Pope, to the zeal and enterprise of private individuals. As a matter of fact it could not fall within the sphere of a Council's work to carry everything into effect, or to provide for everything itself down to the smallest details. The work of the Council was to trace the broad fundamental lines upon which the Church was once again to renew herself. In the fact that the Council of Trent discharged this duty in so eminent a degree lies its "epoch-making importance in the history of the world."¹

¹ Cf. RANKE, *Päpste*, I⁶., 226 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH MUSIC.—PALESTRINA.

THE Fathers of the Council were fully conscious of its duty and its dignity. The same thing came out clearly in the course of a discussion which has attained to a certain celebrity owing to the legendary development given to it at a later period. While it was conferring on the manner in which the holy sacrifice of the mass should be celebrated, attention was naturally drawn to the question of church music. Several of the fathers of the Council were of opinion that music should be entirely excluded from divine worship,¹ but this view did not find favour with the majority ; the Spaniards especially urged the very ancient custom of the Church in favour of the existing practice, and pointed out the assistance that a dignified chant could render to piety. It was only necessary that anything voluptuous or profane should be kept out of the Church, while all possible care must be taken that the words of the liturgy did not become unintelligible.² A decree was therefore drawn up and submitted in this sense, which insisted upon these two points, namely, the exclusion of anything profane, and the necessity for intelligibility, as to which many special ordinances were proposed.³ Together with many other proposals for reform, the Council referred the care of church music to the bishops ; in its decree upon the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, it contented itself with ad-

¹ Naturally only figured music is spoken of here. There was no wish to touch the Gregorian chant, which had been recognized in sess. 23, de ref., c.18, and sess. 24, de ref., c.12.

² Paleotto in THEINER, II., 590. PALLAVICINI, 18, 6, 17.

³ In THEINER, II., 122. EHSES, VIII., 926 seq. In two memorials printed *ibid.* concerning "abusus circa missae sacrificium" there are included (p. 918 and 922) abuses in the singing.

monishing the bishops to be careful to exclude anything frivolous or unclean.¹

Many complaints had been made concerning church music even before the time of the Council. Bishop Johannes Roth of Breslau (1482-1506) had wished frankly to banish figured music, which he described as "cantus crispus," from the Church.² As in the draft laid before the Council of Trent, the complaints centred round these two points, that the words were rendered unintelligible by the music, and that the sacred and the profane were mixed up together.³

The meaning of these two complaints may be gathered from the historical development of church music. At the time of the Council of Trent the prevailing form of music was not that which is usual to-day, namely, the so-called monodic form, in which one voice alone takes up the melody, and the other voices have only to sing the harmonies which accompany it. The older form of singing for several voices was the so-called polyphonic style, in which all the voices are of equal importance, each one singing its own melody, and only, as it were, incidentally and by accident, harmonizing with the others.

This polyphonic or contrapuntal church music was a development from the old ecclesiastical Gregorian chant.⁴ One of the singers, the so-called "holder" of the melody (tenor) rendered the ancient chant of the Church, while round this

¹ Sess. 22, Decr. "de evitandis." In Sess. 24, de ref., c. 12 (cf. THEINER, II., 376) church music is dismissed with a passing word. In the first draft of the reform decree of this session, but not in the second draft (in THEINER, II., 371 seq.), there was actually contained a prohibition of effeminate church music (PALLAVICINI, 22, 5, 14). Ferdinand I., to whom the first draft was sent, put in a word on Aug. 23, 1563 in favour of figured music (*ibid.*). KARL WEINMANN, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik*, Leipzig, 1919. Cf. App. n. 32.

² "cantum crispum appellavit" AMBROS, III., 24.

³ AMBROS, IV., 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II., Zweites Buch: Die Entwicklung des geregelten mehrstimmigen Gesanges, 339 seqq.

the other voices moved in their own melodies. Before long composers began to combine with the well-known ecclesiastical melody, a second one, already existing, and also well known ; thus two well-known melodies were now being sung at the same time, while round these the remaining voices provided an artistic accompaniment of rising and falling scales. This counter-melody, which was thus combined with the chant, was very often taken from the chant itself, but was just as frequently drawn from among the popular songs of the day.

As a matter of fact, this mixture of the sacred and profane was by no means so offensive as, at first glance, it might appear. It must not be supposed that the words of the popular song were also sung.¹ The notes of the popular air were so long drawn out, and the melody so broken, shortened, and altered in rhythm, as to become almost unrecognizable. Through the polyphonic musical texture, only long drawn out notes were audible, which provided the foundation of the melody,² the secular air "being as it were, only the wire intended to hold together the flowers round which it was wound, without being itself visible."³ Often the composer took from some secular song nothing but the motif, out of which he developed his Kyrie or Gloria, though even then, as an authority puts it,⁴ in such a composition the secular melody was "everywhere and nowhere ; everywhere, in that it permeates the music at every point, and nowhere, in that it scarcely appears definitely or in its original form at any point, except, at the most, occasionally in the tenor, when it again immediately disappears in the runs and waves of the counterpoint which envelopes it."

Nevertheless the practice had its dangerous side. When Jean de Richafort, in a Requiem, caused to be sung among the words of the ecclesiastical text, the words from the Psalms : "The sighs of death surround me," and when, in the midst of the Latin text of the liturgy, the two tenors, with ever-

¹ *Ibid.*, III., 24.

² *Cf. ibid.*, 15 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 450.

⁴ *Ibid.* (III., 46).

increasing anguish, exclaim to each other : *c'est douleur non pareille*, this violent intrusion of the deepest personal grief into the solemnity of the funeral rites of the Church may have been very affecting, but the hearer must have found it difficult to avoid receiving a false impression when he remembered that in the popular song from which it was drawn this *douleur non pareille* was occasioned by the emptiness of the purse.¹ It was already a scandal when people began to distinguish the different Masses by the popular songs on which they were based, and even named them by the first words of some well-known song.²

Richafort's Requiem also furnishes an example of another peculiarity of the music of that time, that of singing different words simultaneously, and thus rendering it almost impossible for the hearer to understand anything that was said. In a Mass of the great Jakob Obrecht, a prayer to St. Donatian is mixed up with the Agnus Dei.³ Matteo Pipelare caused the whole story of the life of St. Livinus to be sung at the same time as the Mass.⁴ The genial but fantastic Nicholas Gombert wrote a much admired motet entitled *Diversi diversa orant*, in which four different voices actually sang four different antiphons to Our Lady at the same time.⁵ Such things are

¹ AMBROS, III., 43. In a secular musical composition Jannequin describes a battle, in which one can hear the advance of the troops with their drums and pipes, the thunder of the cannon, the shouts of victory, etc. He then had the strange whim of converting this into a mass, which was known as "Bataille" (*ibid.* 344).

² A mass *O Venus bant* by Kaspar van Weerbeke, AMBROS, III., 251; *La belle si siet* by Okeghem, Giov. Ghiselin, de Orto, *ibid.*, 179, 258. A mass *Adieu mes amours*, and another *Baisez-moi*, *ibid.*, xiv. Almost all the great composers before Palestrina, and after him, wrote a mass on the song *L'homme armé*; *ibid.*, 46; II., 450.

³ *Ibid.*, III., 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 391 *seqq.*; III., 300. In an *Ite missa est* for three voices in the so-called mass of Tournai (xiii century) one voice sings the ecclesiastical text, a second sings a Latin sentence, and a third a secular French song; *ibid.*, III., 27.

frequently to be found in church music before the time of the Council of Trent.

There were undoubtedly excrescences and artificialities, but the music of the time was very full of both apparent and real artifices in the combination of several voices; these constitute a necessary transition stage in the development of polyphonic music, which represents an enormous advance upon classic antiquity, and is one of the most splendid achievements of the middle ages. The architecture which produced the Gothic cathedral has been described as frozen music, and indeed, as far as the strict co-ordination of measure and number is concerned, no other art is so closely akin to architecture as the one which has to build up its masterpieces out of variable and scattered notes. So it came to pass that number and measure, theory, and dry and rigid rules played an eminently fitting part in the evolution of music. The first compositions for several voices are rather sums in arithmetic than works of art, and for a long time to come music retained this character of being the production of the reasoning faculties, and of delight in making captious experiment. Men aimed at the impossible in the matter of the combination of voices, and we read of compositions for 24 and even for 36 voices.¹ By preference they cultivated the most difficult of the contrapuntal forms, the so-called "canon," in which all the different voices successively render the same melody, but the later voice commences the melody before the preceding one has finished it, so that the different parts are being performed simultaneously, and have each in their turn to be harmonized with the others. A "fantastic touch" is to be found in this music, and in every part of it, which reveals itself in strange refinements of composition. During the XVth century there are to be found in the compositions of the Netherland school "not a few pieces which are frankly impossible, but which, nevertheless, have a characteristic attractiveness, problems of musical composition which even a choir of trained singers could hardly have been able to

¹ *Ibid.*, III., 176, 210.

perform, because music had arrived at the point of exploring the utmost limits of its kingdom by searching experiments, sometimes very daring, so as to take the measure of its own strength by setting before itself the hardest problems."¹ The matter was still further complicated by singers who were skilled in their art adding, even in the case of difficult compositions, further flourishes and ornamentations of their own.²

It must not be supposed, however, that music before the time of Palestrina succeeded in producing nothing but artificial compositions, and no works of art. Little by little there arose masters who, while completely mastering the greatest technical difficulties, were able to infuse real warmth of feeling and spiritual expression into their compositions. After the first unwieldy attempts in Scandinavia and England, and later in France, the Netherlands became the home of music. The first great master arose in the person of Guillaume Dufay of Hainault (died 1474), who had been a canon of Cambrai since 1436. He was the first whose work showed real style;³ deep warmth of feeling and a pure sense of beauty are expressed in them in a most attractive way, and through nearly all of them there runs the expression of a wonderfully tender melancholy and a graceful piety.⁴ Dufay's most able pupils were Binchois, also a priest of Hainault, and above all, Busnois, whose works show a considerable advance on those of Dufay. While the earlier music went no further than to "envelope in harmony" a given melody, say from the Gregorian chant, it now begins to stand on its own feet and to follow out its own aspirations.⁵

A second Netherland school began with Johann Okeghem,

¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

² Examples of such so-called "diminuzioni" in Pierluigi da Palestrina, Werke, XXXIII., 45 *seqq.*

³ AMBROS, II., 496.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II., 497. Cf. F. X. HABERL, Bausteine für die Musikgeschichte, I; Wilhelm Du Fay, Leipzig, 1885; cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter, XCVII. (1886), 279 *seqq.*

⁵ AMBROS, II., 504.

who died, when almost a hundred years old, in 1512. He probably was a native of East Flanders, and had been a singer in the chapel of Charles VII. and Louis XI., and later became treasurer of the capitular church of St. Martin, at Tours. Okeghem was master of the canon and all other musical artifices to an astonishing degree, but he also knew how to impart to his music "the singing soul," and we find in him "whole periods of the most wonderful melodic treatment, and an extraordinary gracefulness and fervour of expression."¹ A funeral cantata at the time of his death speaks of him as the prince of music, and there is no doubt that he exercised a very great influence on the later development of harmony. Jakob Obrecht (d. 1507) may be looked upon as his disciple, but it was principally through Josquin de Prés that Okeghem's style was spread in Italy, France, and even Germany, where the great composers, Heinrich Isaak² and Ludwig Senfl³ were his followers. Josquin himself must be counted among "the greatest musical geniuses of all time." A master of all the subtleties and artifices of composition, it was he who "with a strong hand, broke through the thorny thickets the way which led to a more moderate form of art."⁴ Notwithstanding the constraints which the fixed forms of the day imposed on him, his works express a "deep, pure feeling, which is capable of exciting the deepest emotion;" he frees himself more and more from the many imperfections of his earlier works, until he at last succeeds in creating "works of pure gold, which stand on the very pinnacle of artistic perfection."⁵ Josquin was born in 1445 in Hainault, probably at Condé, where he died in 1521. He belonged to the Papal choir under Sixtus IV., and in 1480 was already a celebrated master at the court of Louis XI. of France, with whom he was on very intimate terms.

¹ *Ibid.*, III., 175.

² *Ibid.*, 389 *seqq.* His is the song, *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen*, of which he makes use in the *Kyrie* of his *Missa carminum*; *ibid.*, 389, 394.

³ *Ibid.*, 414 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 208 *seq.*

The music of the Netherlands gained a world-wide reputation owing to all these celebrated composers, and every important princely court sought to obtain their services for their chapels. They made their way to Vienna in 1498,¹ and Philip the Fair took them with him to Spain, where the chapel of Valladolid was one of the most celebrated in the world.² About 1480 three distinguished Netherlanders taught music at the same time in Naples,³ and even Venice, which jealously took care that none but natives should hold the posts of organist and chapel-master, was persuaded in 1527 to invite Adrian Willaert there as a teacher of music.⁴

It was, however, of much greater importance that the Netherlanders also took possession of the Papal choir in Rome. Their position at the French court had paved their way to the Papal court at Avignon, and when Gregory XI. returned permanently to Rome in 1377, he took them with him, and they retained their position in the Papal choir until well on into the XVIth century. In the time of Dufay the list of the Papal singers contains only names which have a Flemish or French sound ; Dufay himself, and later on Josquin, were for many years members of the Papal choir, the archives of which contain to this day a number of masses and motets by masters from the Netherlands.⁵

The supremacy of the Netherlander singers in Italy was as beneficial to their own school of music as it was for that of Italy. It preserved the Italians from a premature attempt to revert, by quite unexplored ways, to classical antiquity in the field of music as in other directions. The age of the Renaissance, as far as music was concerned, only began in the XVIIth century, and it then led to the creation of the modern or monodic style of composition, yet the Renaissance was not without its influence on the earlier practice of the art even in

¹ *Ibid.*, II., 516.

² *Ibid.*, 524.

³ *Ibid.*, 538.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 539.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 494 *seq.*

the XVIth century. It was undoubtedly of the greatest value to the genius of Dufay or Josquin that both of them should have been brought into contact, at Rome and Florence, with the culture of the Italy of those days. Netherland music only attained to the highest perfection of which it was capable when the Italians, with their educated sense of beauty and their refined artistic temperament, adopted and made use of the achievements of their predecessors.

Even the greatest of the musicians of the XVIth century, Giovanni Pierluigi di Sante, commonly called Palestrina, from the place of his birth, can by no means be regarded as the creator of a completely new style of church music.¹

Probably born in 1525,² he received his musical education in Rome, between 1540 and 1544, in the strict school of a Netherlander.³ As his works prove, he had studied the Flemish

¹ Pierluigi da Palestrina, Werke, 33 volumes, Leipsic, 1862-1893, 1907. JOS. BAINI, *Memorie storico-critiche sopra la vita e le opere del G. P. da Palestrina*, Rome, 1828. F. X. HABERL in *Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch*, IV. (1894), 87-89. KARL WEINMANN, *Zur Geschichte von Palestrinas Missa Papae Marcelli* in the *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1916 anno XXIII.*, Leipsic, 1917, 23-42. W. BÄUMKER, *Palestrina*, Freiburg, 1877. P. WAGNER, *Palestrina als weltlicher Komponist*, Strassburg, 1890; *Das Madrigal und Palestrina* in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VIII. (1893), 423 *seqq.*; *Geschichte der Messe I.*, Leipsic, 1913; the same in *Gregoriusblatt*, XXXVIII. (1913), 55-56, 65-70. TH. SCHMID in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLVII. (1894), 113-136.

² Karl Weinmann arrives at this conclusion in his excellent monograph, *Palestrinas Geburtsjahr*, Ratisbon, 1915, which forms a chapter of the great biography of Palestrina, on which this learned writer on music has been at work for many years.

³ Of *Gaudio Mel.* Baini wrongly identifies him with Claude Goudimel. HABERL in *Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch*, IV. (1891), 98. According to recent researches Palestrina's master was the Fleming, Firmin le Bel. Cf. CASIMIRI, *Giovanni Pier Luigi da Palestrina. Nuovi documenti biografici*. Rome, 1919. See also P. WAGNER, *neue Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Palestrinas*, in *Musica Sacra* LII (1919). 5 *seqq.*

masters with great assiduity, and in his earlier works he followed closely in their footsteps.¹ In a few cases he even did not disdain to write masses which were founded on secular melodies,² and he is as expert in all the rules of counterpoint as any of the great Netherlands. The thing, however, which especially distinguishes Palestrina from his predecessors is his extraordinarily refined sense of beauty. His melodies are "formed of pure gracefulness,"³ he has discarded everything of the pedantry, affectation and want of spontaneity, which in various ways still adhered to the style of the great northern masters. In his hands the arrangements of the parts became more melodious and more full of life, and even under the constraint of the most complicated forms of counterpoint, he seems to move with supreme ease and freedom. His means of expression are in themselves very limited. He uses only four or six, or rarely eight male voices, which, for all their complexity, meet in but three pure harmonies. These voices, however, (which he occasionally divides into two choirs) he is able to group together in an exceedingly effective manner, so as to produce the most glorious effects. In this respect Palestrina, considered merely from the musical point of view, may be looked upon as "the last and most perfect flower of a development extending over centuries."⁴

Palestrina placed his powers as a composer entirely at the service of the Church. In his music the ancient ecclesiastical chants appear in festal array, and for the most part he constructed his compositions out of *motifs* drawn from the Gregorian chant, and he develops his melodies upon the lines of that chant.⁵ The ease with which he composed enabled

¹ AMBROS, IV., 23.

² He also wrote a mass on *l'homme armé* in 1570; in another written on the same song in 1582 he omits any mention of the theme, as is the case in his *Missa sine nomine* written upon a song *Je suis déshérité*. Cf. WAGNER in *Gregoriusblatt*, XXXVIII, (1913), 67.

³ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴ AMBROS, IV., 23.

⁵ WAGNER, *loc. cit.*, 66, 70.

him to write 93 masses, motets for all the feasts of the year, and hymns for all the ecclesiastical seasons ; his secular compositions, two volumes of madrigals, are hardly worthy of mention in comparison with these.¹ A tone of the deepest religious fervour pervades all his ecclesiastical works, for Palestrina penetrated deeply into the meaning and feeling of the liturgical text, and knew how to give expression to it in the most affecting manner. Compositions such as his *Improperia* and *Stabat Mater* cannot be listened to without emotion by anyone who has any ear for music, and even composers, whose point of view is quite different in other ways, have never been able to conceal their admiration for Palestrina in this respect.²

¹ According to Haberl's thematic list of the works of Palestrina in the complete edition, XXXIII., 97-129, the master composed (not including two of doubtful authenticity) the following masses : 39 for four voices, 29 for five, 21 for six, and 4 for eight ; besides 486 antiphons, motets, offertories and psalms, 69 hymns, 30 lamentations, 35 Magnificats, 11 litanies, 182 madrigals and secular songs.

² See in BÄUMKER, 24, 67, the opinion of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy on the *Improperia* and old Italian church music in general. Richard Wagner has often expressed his admiration for Palestrina. He has called the "celebrated ecclesiastical compositions of Palestrina" an "altogether intellectual revelation" by which "we are struck with an indescribable emotion." (Schriften und Dichtungen [s.a.] IX., 79 seq.). "For the connoisseur of art, we come to the decadence of Italian music with the rise of opera ; a statement which is evident to anyone who has arrived at a clear idea of the grandeur, wealth and unspeakably expressive depth of the Italian church music of the preceding centuries, and, after hearing, for example, the *Stabat Mater* of Palestrina, it is impossible to maintain the opinion that Italian opera is the legitimate daughter of that wonderful mother." (*Ibid.*, VII., 90.) "To ascend to an expression in melody suitable to its inmost meaning, the true Christian spirit invented polyphonic music on the basis of a harmony of four voices. . . . To what a wonderful depth of expression, such as had never in any way been attained before, melodic language attained with this discovery, we can see, with ever increasing emotion, in the alto-

The great simplicity and depth of Palestrina's style may be looked upon as the realization of the reform of Church music desired by the Council of Trent. The credit of having prepared the way for the reformer, and therefore for the reform itself, must be given to Pope Julius III., once bishop of Palestrina's native place, who had himself a great understanding of music.¹ It was probably he who, in 1551, summoned the youthful master from an unimportant position in the cathedral of his native place to be choir-master at St. Peter's in Rome.² It was also through the influence of Julius III. that, on January 13th, 1555, Palestrina was admitted into the college of the singers of the Papal choir, from which he was, however, dismissed on the 30th of the following July by the strict Paul IV., on the ground that the Papal singers must be clerics, and Palestrina was a layman and married. He was next appointed choir-master of the Lateran, and afterwards of St. Mary Major. It was only in 1571 that he was again entrusted with the direction of the music at St. Peter's, which position he retained until his death in 1594.

In Rome Palestrina had an opportunity of getting into closer touch with those circles from which had sprung the movement for ecclesiastical reform. He says himself that he had laboured with all his powers in accordance with the advice of distinguished and God-fearing men, to contribute by means

gether incomparable masterpieces of Italian church music," which produce an effect which in a wonderful way "stir the heart to the deepest piety" which "literally cannot be compared with any effect produced by any other among the arts." (*Ibid.*, VII., 106.) In his capacity as director of the court chapel of Saxony, Wagner formed the plan of banishing orchestral music from divine service in the court chapel, and of introducing in its stead the music in the style of Palestrina (*ibid.*, II., 252 *seqq.*). In *Parsifal*, at the mention of Good Friday, Wagner makes the orchestra play the first bars of Palestrina's *Stabat Mater*. Cf. J. HATZFELD in *Musica Sacra*, XLVI. (1913), 125 *seqq.*

¹ Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 51.

² Cf. *ibid.* p. 332.

of his art to the glorification of the holy sacrifice of the Mass.¹ Later on he looked upon it as a great fault that he had, as early as 1555, published a volume of madrigals, in which the beauty of women and worldly love had been extolled.² It would seem that he formed a friendship with Philip Neri; at any rate the latter assisted the great master at his death. That in some way Palestrina had been brought into contact with Marcellus II., the zealous reforming Pope, may be gathered from the title he gave to one of his most celebrated masterpieces, the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*.³ During the short reign

¹ "Faciendum mihi putavi, ut gravissimorum et religiosissimorum hominum secutus consilium ad rem in christiana religione omnium maximam et divinissimam, hoc est Sanctissimum Missae sacrificium novo modorum genere decorandum, omne meum studium, operam, industriamque conferrem." (Dedication to Philip II. prefixed to the second volume of his masses, 1567). The "novum modorum genus" has hitherto been understood in the sense that Palestrina wrote masses in a new style, and that he now appeared as the founder of this new style, with special reference to the *Missa di Papa Marcello*, which was printed for the first time in this volume. But Palestrina is speaking of *all* the masses in the volume, and that all these bear out the aforesaid "new style" cannot be claimed. Perhaps Palestrina merely wished to point out that he was presenting a new series of masses (K. WEINMANN in *Jahrbuch des Musikbibliothek Peters für 1916*, 24 *seqq.*); perhaps he is also alluding to the *canticum novum* of the Sacred Scriptures (Ps. 39, 4; 149, 1, etc.).

² WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 26.

³ It was partly from the attempt to explain the enigmatical title of this mass that there sprang the story that the Council of Trent under Marcellus II. (!) had wished to abolish figured music, but that Palestrina saved it by means of this mass. Baini refutes this legend (*cf.* *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XLII. [1858], 893-911) but does not suggest any other explanation in its stead. According to him Palestrina really saved church music, not against the Council of Trent, but against the commission of Cardinals appointed for the carrying out of the Council's decrees (*ibid.* 911-926). As to this see *infra*, p. 51, n. 3, and p. 54, n. 1. The Council had dealt with church music in the congregation "ad colligendos abusus de sacrificio missae," formed on July 20, 1562. EHSES, VIII., 721, 916.

of Marcellus the master belonged to the choir of the Sistine Chapel, and he must certainly have been present when the Pope summoned the singers and reproached them for the unsuitable music to which he had listened on Good Friday, 1555. Probably so as to give scope to the affectations of some virtuosi among the singers, they had, as Massarelli testifies, allowed the whole performance to appear rather as an expression of joy, than of sorrow, for the death of Christ. The Pope insisted that this must never occur again, and that the text of the chant must not be allowed to lose its intelligibility by reason of the embellishments and ornamentations of the singers. Massarelli, who relates the incident, adds that the singers, to the great satisfaction of the faithful, carried out the Pope's instructions.¹ A year later Palestrina himself wrote, in 1556, his *Improperia* for Good Friday, which almost entirely avoided all counterpoint, yet in their depth of feeling and their intrinsic beauty are among the most splendid compositions of the master.² In the same year he set the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremias to music, for use in Holy Week. It is very probable that it was about the same time that he wrote the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, and that in so doing he was actuated by the wish to carry out the Pope's plans for the reform of church music.³

¹ "Cum autem sacra ipsa a cantoribus non ea qua decet reverentia recitarentur, sed magis ab eis cantiones laetitiae cum eorum musicis concentibus proferri viderentur . . . pontifex ipse, vocatis ad se cantoribus ipsis, eis iniunxit, ut quae his diebus sanctis in mysteriis passionis et mortis Christi recitanda erant, ea rei condecens vocibus referrent, atque etiam ita referrent, ut quae proferebantur, audiri atque percipi possent. Quod quidem ab ipsis cantoribus cum maxima astantium consolatione executioni demandatum est." Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 256 seq.; Cf. WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 38 seq.

² Complete edition, vol. XXXI.

³ WEINMANN, 41, seq. Baini maintains that this mass was written for the congregation of Cardinals of 1564, and that its preformance saved figured music from being banished from divine worship. This is impossible, because it can be proved that the *Missa di papa Marcello* was in existence at the latest in 1563. WEINMANN, 34 seqq.

The advance which church music made by means of Palestrina was due, in no small degree, to the advocates of ecclesiastical reform. Palestrina repaid the debt he owed to them by preserving their reforming zeal from undue precipitation. Even after the appearance of the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, the voice of certain zealots, who wished to see figured music entirely banished from divine service, was not at once silenced.¹ There is a well-founded tradition that Pius IV. himself was not altogether opposed to this view, and that he was on the point of proposing a decree in this sense to the Council of Trent. Palestrina's masses, however, made the Pope change his mind, and won him over completely to the style of the master.² Referring to the Christian name of Palestrina, John, Pius IV. is said to have remarked concerning the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, that it reminded him of the harmonies of the heavenly Jerusalem, heard by the Apostle St. John, of which another John had now given the world a foretaste.³

The impulse which the Council of Trent had given to the reform of church music, although it had not issued any actual decree on the subject, was not without effect in other ways. Its insistence, above all, that the words of the chant must always be intelligible, whatever the wealth of the musical ornamentation, was included by Charles Borromeo, together with the other Tridentine decrees, in an ordinance of his first

¹ Mario Corrado, in a dedication to Carlo Carafa, speaks of people, "qui furiosissime clamitant, modos musicos et musicae praeceptores de communi societate hominum eiici debere" POGIANI Epist. III., 194; cf. AMBROS, II., Pref. p. xi. On Ferdinand I. "salvatore della musica ecclesiastica," cf. App. n. 32.

² The Jesuit, de Cressolles learned of the matter from Palestrina himself, through a third party. LUD. CRESOLLII Mystagogus, 627, Paris, 1629. HABERL in Kirchenmusik., Jahrbuch, VI. (1892), 94. TH. SCHMID in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 1894, II., 124; cf. IV., 13.

³ BAINI *loc. cit.* (see *supra* p. 46, n. 1); Hist.-pol. Blätter, XLII. (1858), 920 (which, however, does not give the authority).

provincial synod of 1565;¹ with this, it was spread throughout the whole Catholic world, and was repeated in many provincial synods.²

In Rome itself, Cardinals Borromeo and Vitelli turned their attention to the subject of church music in connection with their duties on the congregation for the explanation of the decrees of Trent.³ At first, it is true, they were occupied rather with the reform of the choir of Papal singers, than with the reform of music itself; fourteen of the members of the choir were dismissed, and the singers were reduced to the original number of twenty-four.⁴ But the chant itself was examined, to see whether it was in accordance with the desires of the Council. Under the date of April 28th, 1565, the diary of the choir states that the singers performed several masses at the house of Cardinal Vitelli so that he might judge whether the words could be understood. By that time the two Cardinals had not arrived at any decision as to whether figured music was to be retained in the churches or not. They were satisfied with the music then in use, and also with that of Orlando di Lasso, although he was even more free in his treatment of the subject than Palestrina. Through Cardinal Truchsess, in 1561 and 1562, Vitelli had copies of masses by Orlando sent to him by Duke Albert V., and declared that he, as well as Borromeo, was satisfied with them.⁵

We have no record of which the masses were which the Papal singers performed at Vitelli's house on April 28th,

¹ A comparison of the draft of the reform decrees upon church music (THEINER, II., 122; cf. PALLAVICINI, 12, 5, 14) with the *Acta ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, I., 31, Bergamo, 1738 (HARDOUIN *Collectio Conciliorum*, X., 687) shows that Borromeo made use of this draft.

² Cf. *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XLII. (1858), 920.

³ HABERL, *Die Kardinalskommission von 1564 und Palestrinas Missa papae Marcelli*, in *Kirchenmusikalischen Jahrbuch*, VI. (1892), 82-97. WEINMANN, *loc. cit.*

⁴ HABERL, 85 *seq.* For the personnel of the choir of singers of the Papal chapel cf. CELANI in *Rivista music*, XIV. (1907), 753 *seq.*

⁵ WEINMANN, *loc. cit.* 29-32.

1565.¹ It is probable that the works of Palestrina, seeing the vogue which he enjoyed, were not omitted, and this becomes all the more probable in view of the fact that in the October of 1565 "by reason of the compositions already published, or about to be published for the use of the Papal choir" his salary was increased in such a way that, although he was not a Papal singer, he nevertheless received the full salary of one.²

During the years that follow we still hear of the endeavours of ecclesiastically-minded composers to safeguard the intelligibility of the chant. The contemporary of Palestrina, Giovanni Animuccia, choir-master at St. Peter's, who also composed songs in a simple form for the "Oratory" of Philip Neri, published a book of masses in 1567, in the preface to which he speaks of the wish of "certain persons" that the words sung should always be intelligible. It would seem that his work satisfied the commission of Cardinals, for in the following year, by their express orders, he was told to compose hymns, motets and masses "in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, and the recent regulations

¹ From the fact that in a codex in the archives of the Sistine Chapel there are written together three masses by Palestrina, namely the *Illumina oculos meos*, the Mass of Pope Marcellus, and a third without a name, and that the Mass of Pope Marcellus bears the date 1565, Baini concluded that these three masses were written at that time by Palestrina and sung before Vitelli; also that the commission had to deal with the question whether figured music was any longer to be tolerated in divine worship. But this codex does not contain the oldest copy of the Mass of Pope Marcellus (see *supra* p. 51, n. 3); this appears from the pages bound up with these much later on, probably in 1724. It is not the Mass of Pope Marcellus which bears the date 1565, but the "mass without title," and the former is, as can be proved, earlier, namely 1562. The mass *Illumina* is so named because its themes are drawn from the motet *Illumina* by Andrea de Silva. The title is not, therefore, as Baini thinks, to be considered as a prayer of Palestrina invoking the divine assistance to save church music. HABERL, *loc. cit.* 89 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 87.

of the commission.”¹ Cardinal Borromeo caused a certain Vincenzo Ruffo to compose psalms and masses, which state on the title-page their conformity with the rules of the Council of Trent.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 97. AMBROS, II., 600 *seq.*

² “Salmi . . . conformi al decreto del S. Concilio Tridentino, 1574.” HABERL, *loc. cit.*, 92 ; *cf.* SYLVAIN, I., 265.

CHAPTER III.

REFORMING ACTIVITY OF PIUS IV., CHARLES BORROMEO, AND THE JESUITS.

WHILE the Council was still sitting, Pius IV. had been accused by the Gallican party of encroaching on its liberty, a reproach which won a certain notoriety through the witticism of Lansac.¹ The answer to this charge, however, came from the Council itself,² and was to the effect that such talk not only impugned the honour of the assembly, but might even cast doubts upon its validity. If the Pope had no part in the Council, then it was no true Council at all, and its decrees would be null and void, as had been shown in the early ages of Christianity in the case of the so-called "Robber-Council" of 449. They who spoke in this way started from the false principle that it is not by the ordinance of God that the head and president of a Council must be the Pope, to whom in a special way the promise of infallibility in matters of faith has been given. The view that the Pope could be excluded from the Council, and that no courier must pass between Trent and Rome to learn his opinion, rested upon this false principle. The Pope is, in fact, in accordance with Catholic principles

¹ Lansac to de Lisle on May 19, 1562, in LE PLAT, V., 169 : " (qu') il luy plaise laisser les propositions . . . libres, sans y prescrire aucune limite, ny envoyer le S. Esprit en valise de Rome icy " (*cf.* PALLAVICINI, 16, 10, 12). A similar witticism had previously been employed at the conclave of Julius III. ; *cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 24, n. 5.

² The Bishop of Tortosa, Martino de Cordoba de Mendoça, to his secretary, Gonzalo Perez, from Trent, Aug. 20, 1562, in *Collección de documentos inéditos*, IX., 278. The explanations of Cordoba refer expressly to the saying of Lansac, " que Su Santidad envia el Espiritu Santo acá en balija."

the head of the bishops ; he is so when the bishops are living apart from each other in their dioceses, and he is so in exactly the same way when they are assembled in a Council. The theory that an assembly of bishops is independent of the Pope, and can even impose laws on the Pope himself, is only an echo of those adopted in the XVth century, but of which the first ages of the faith and Christian antiquity had no knowledge. Some say, wrote Pius IV. in an autograph letter to Philip II.,¹ that the Council is not free, because they want a Huguenot, Protestant, or Lutheran Council. In reality it is free to such an extent that everyone says and puts forward whatever comes into his head, so that great confusion arises ; some indeed have become frankly insolent, and it would appear that they aim at nothing less than the destruction of the Roman see. He, however, would quietly go on his way, and would make provision for a reform of the strictest kind, which would make the whole Curia cry out in alarm.

It is true that the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees could not be the work of a single pontificate, but the credit of having, at any rate, made a resolute and decisive beginning cannot be denied to the Medici Pope. This carrying out of the decrees was inaugurated and placed on a firm footing by the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and by the appointment of the special congregation of Cardinals to watch over the reform. Pius further completed these arrangements by the fact that on February 17th, 1565, he declared null all privileges which ran counter to the decrees of Trent.²

¹ On June 1, 1562 (Collección de docum. inéd., IX., 243 *seq.*) : " Circa il concilio sapemo che alcuni dicono che non è libero, perchè vorriano que el fusse ugonotto o protestante o luterano. . . . Provedendo d'ogni reformatione conveniente etiam rigorosissima et che fa gridare tutta la corte." Cf. Pius IV. to Philip II. on May 23, 1562 (*ibid.*, 197 *seq.*).

² Bull. Rom., VII., 277 *seq.*, where, however, the date " ab incarnatione " is wrongly fixed, and the bull is inserted in its wrong place. This is clear from the fact that § 3 of the bull speaks of privileges granted " since the time when the Council began to be binding," that is to say, after May 1, 1564 (*cf. ibid.*, 299). The bull

This congregation of Cardinals at once began to exercise its functions. Between October 8th, 1564, and August 31st, 1565, its secretary, Poggiani, had to send out 67 decisions, mostly to Italian and Spanish dioceses ; these decisions prove that the congregation treated the doubts and complaints referred to them by the Pope strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Council, and that measures were already being taken in the dioceses to introduce the Tridentine reforms. A beginning was made by combatting the accumulation of benefices,¹ by insisting on the residence of bishops,² by the visitation of the religious orders,³ and by the establishment of seminaries.⁴

More important, however, than all these separate measures was the radical renewal of the Roman official world, the reform of the Roman Curia which had so long been asked for, and which had been so definitely promised by Pius IV.

A picture of the conditions at the Papal court, in which definite and clear emphasis is laid on the causes of the evils, and the difficulties in dealing with them, was drawn, shortly after the close of the Council of Trent by the bishop who was afterwards to become Cardinal Commendone.⁵ There is no place in the world, so he begins his description, which affords a more favourable spot for making one's fortune than Rome ; at that court, more than at any other, or in any other state, a

therefore cannot have been issued on Feb. 17, 1564. The correct date is in *magnum Bull. Rom.*, II., 145 *seq.* (Luxemburg, 1742). Cf. NILLES in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.*, XXV. (1901), 1 *seqq.*

¹ POGIANI Epist., III., 341, n. 11 ; 348, n. 22 ; 363, n. 48, etc.

² When the Pope learned that in the Neapolitan territory the duty of residence was being neglected with the tacit consent of the archbishops, he gave orders to the nuncios to proceed against those prelates. Decree of June 30, 1565, in POGIANI Epist., I., 359 *seq.*, n. 42 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 341, n. 9.

⁴ Cf. *infra* p.

⁵ *Discorso sopra la Corte di Roma, Casanatense Library, Rome ; cf. App. No. 76.

number of ambitious people of every kind succeed in attaining the end of their desires ; there the door is open to all.¹

The reason for this, to a great extent, democratic character of the Eternal City, is to be found, according to Commendone, in the very nature of the supreme government. It is a fact that the power of the Pope is accountable to no one on earth, yet he receives his power by the election of the Cardinals. Although he has suddenly been raised far above his fellows, he nevertheless owes his elevation to those who were yesterday his equals, and he is therefore inclined, at least at first, to use his power in a moderate manner, all the more so as a Cardinal is frequently elected Pope, of whose elevation there was little expectation. A popular character is thereby impressed upon the whole system of government. As is the case with a republic, anyone can entertain the hope of attaining to the most exalted positions. From this comes, too, the freedom to speak and act as one likes, which is allowed to all in Rome ; from this comes the anxiety of ambitious officials to stand well with everyone ; from this too comes the lavish expenditure which they make in order to attain this end, often far beyond their means.²

Moreover, people of every kind can make their fortune in Rome. Wealth, and the fact of having been born of a family which had already produced a Cardinal, certainly gives reason to expect high office, but even those of small means, so long as they are capable in other ways, can indulge in the most exalted hopes, for whereas at other courts there is need of but two officials of high attainments, a secretary and an auditor, the Papal government has need of the services of a whole number of auditors of the Rota, referendaries both *gratie* and *justitiae*, deputies, governors, commissaries, auditors for the States of the Church, and finally Cardinals for the two *signature*, and all of these must be well skilled in the law. The wealthy and the nobles do not willingly devote themselves to learned studies, and for that very reason the widest field

¹ *Discorso, p. 230b.

² *Discorso, p. 233.

lies open in Rome to those of more modest means. Anyone, whether of high or low estate, can make his way, so long as he is capable.¹

Rome is therefore a city of opposites and contrasts,² and this character is still further accentuated by the fact that the Popes are for the most part well advanced in years before they ascend the throne and the government is therefore frequently changed. On account of the unique position of the Popes, however, such an occurrence is accompanied by greater changes than would be the case elsewhere. These changes are such as would take place in an ordinary city, if the prince were frequently to change his dwelling place, and that at every such change all the streets had to be altered, so that they might lead to the new palace, and that to effect this houses were pulled down, palaces cut through, and streets hitherto deserted filled with life, while others which had hitherto been centres of traffic became deserted.³ In addition to this the Cardinals often deliberately elect a Pope who in many ways is directly the opposite to his predecessor, either because they wish for a change, or because the mistakes and exaggerations of the deceased Pope have made his manner of government unpopular. In accordance with the dispositions of the head, there comes about a change in the behaviour of the court, even in matters that concern their private lives. People, therefore, only bind themselves by agreements for life, and should an exception occur, the heirs quickly dispose of the property in Rome, either because they can do nothing with it, or because they do not wish to remain in the city.⁴ Everything in Rome is therefore in a constant state of change; even the names of houses, streets and squares are frequently changed, and those parts of the city which have nothing to do with the court, are nevertheless drawn into the vortex by the influence of those

¹ *Ibid.* p. 233b.

² *le quali conditioni tutte insieme fanno molto varia la repubblica (*ibid.*, p. 234b). There was a current proverb "A Roma gl'estremi" (*ibid.*, p. 230b).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235a.

circles which set the tone to Rome. A friend of Commendone used therefore to say that he did not know whether the constantly changing weather in Rome was the cause of the instability of the Curia, or whether the continual changes in the Curia affected the weather.¹

Rome was, therefore, to use the expression of Commendone, no longer a city, but a place where foreigners lived for a long time, like a market or a diet, and everything was always on the move.² People with all the virtues and vices which marked the closing years of the Renaissance, flocked thither to seek their fortune. Once they had attained the object of their desires, they were distinguished from the laity by the possession of a benefice, or perhaps by ordination, but not by their manner of life; they became clerics or prelates without even knowing the name of the office they held.³ There was a complete lack of education in the spirit of the priesthood.⁴

As the principal root of all the evils existing in the Curia during the time of the Renaissance, Commendone points to its worldliness. The Pope and Cardinals were too anxious to emulate the secular princes;⁵ they forgot that the object of all ecclesiastical offices and revenues is the service of religion, and that religion can only be served properly by conscientiousness and virtue.⁶ It had therefore come to pass that eccle-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235b.

² *si questa città fosse veramente città, et non più tosto una lunga cohabitatione di huomini forastieri, simile ad uno mercato, ovvero ad una dieta con uno continuo flusso (p. 245).

³ *essendo prima fatto chierico, o prelato, chiegli intende pure il nome delli officio che prende (p. 237b).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Le cagioni principali, che spingono fuori del cammino il Pontifice, credo che siano due, la prima, di voler vivere secolarmente et governare anchora lo Stato nella maniera che fanno i Principi secolari et ragunare thesori, et cercar gloria non conveniente . . . , la seconda è il poco amore che ordinariamente si suole havere alle cose, che non sono proprio nostro. Discorso, p. 238a.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 236a, 237b.

siastical offices and benefices were looked upon as a means of enriching relations, rewarding devoted servants, and of forming parties in the College of Cardinals, so as to influence the election of the next Pope. Hence persons were promoted who were distinguished by anything rather than learning and piety, while, to enrich some special favourite, a whole number of benefices were heaped upon him.¹ The consequence of all this was a great loss of the respect in which the Pope and Cardinals were held.²

But the responsibility for the deterioration in ecclesiastical affairs also rested, in the opinion of Commendone, in no small degree with the laity, who were so loud in their complaints of the corruption of the Curia. Most of the offices and benefices had become hereditary in certain families,³ and were disposed of as if they were private property. Especially during the last hours of the head of the family, relations and friends crowded round the bed of the dying man, besieging him with requests to secure the ecclesiastical property for the family, and he who refused to comply with their requests was looked upon as blameworthy.⁴ The view had come to be held that the Church as such should not possess temporal goods;⁵ the princes, therefore, looked upon ecclesiastical property as belonging to them, the good ones, in the belief that they could administer it better than the Church, and the bad ones from greed, and a kind of mania to absorb all rights into their own hands.⁶ The Curia, therefore, no longer had the free disposal of the benefices, while the Pope found himself in the unhappy predicament of having either to give in to the proposals of the princes, or in some other way to take precautions so as to preserve the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 238a. More fully as to these relatives p. 240 *seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 246a.

³ *la maggior parte degli honori et de benefitii si fanno hereditarii, et si tengono molto tempo in una famiglia. *Ibid.* p. 237b.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 244b.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 243b.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 244b.

bare essentials of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹ The greater part of the official posts and ecclesiastical revenues were likewise in the power of the princes, wherefore many clerics entered into the service of the secular power,² while the Curia itself was divided because the princes all had their partisans there. The Pope could not even be sure of his ambassadors and nuncios, as they too were sometimes tempted to promote, at least in some matters, the interests of the princes rather than those of the Church. In Rome itself, the Cardinals could no longer be given that share in the government of the Church which they had formerly possessed, as they were to be considered rather as the honoured friends of the princes than as the representatives of ecclesiastical government.³

While the great prelates consumed the revenues of the ecclesiastical offices, the performance of the duties attached to those offices was left to badly paid and unworthy hirelings. The ranks of the secular clergy were crowded with such persons, just as the monasteries were filled with unworthy monks, who furnished heresy with its best preachers.⁴ A serious symptom of the preponderance of a non-Christian spirit, was the exaggerated veneration paid to ancient paganism. Eulogies were delivered in praise of men who should be described as monsters rather than as merely criminals. People were even ashamed of names which had a Christian significance, and many changed them for others of pagan renown.⁵ Even such trivial details as these show how far the

¹ *Per la qual cosa è la corte caduta in una miserabile necessità di concedere i beneficii hora ad istanza de' Principi, hora secondo la diligentia degli avvisi per mantenere la giurisditione nel modo che si può. *Ibid.* p. 246a.

² *Ibid.* p. 247a. Cf. the decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. 25, de ref., c. 17, against those prelates who forget the dignity of their state so far as to become the servants of ministers and royal officials.

³ *Ibid.* p. 247a b.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 247b.

⁵ *E piacesse a Sua Divina Maestà che tale non fosse hormai la corruttione presente che non si dovesse ragionevolmente temere

hearts of the people had strayed from religion, an estrangement which rendered the government of the Church and the defeat of heresy extremely difficult.¹

Commendone concludes his description of the abuses both within and without the Curia with some reflections as to the manner of restoring to the Church her original purity and lustre. It is easy, he says, to speak of the need of reform, but very difficult to name a procedure by which it may be brought about. How will the princes be prevailed upon not to foster such abuses in the future? Reform decrees may be issued,

che dentro questi abisso ò poco lungi si trovino grandissimo numero di huomini; conciossia cosa che come inanzi la pestilenza si sente la mala dispositione dell' aere e putrefatione delli humori, così ancora si scopre una certa gentilità e nelli opinione e ne i costumi, che dà verisimile inditio, considerando le tante memorie che si honorano et si fanno di coloro che furono più tosto mostri che huomini, scelerati, con molto maggior laude di essi e desiderio et ammiratione della lor gloria che di quella de' martiri et de gli apostoli; et passa tanto avanti che alli figlioli che si battezzano molto più volentieri mettano i nomi gentili che li christiani; e vi sono alcuni di tanta vanità che, vergognandosi di quelli che hanno, li lasciano et, quasi sbattezzandosi, ne prendano dei novi et di gentili: alla qual pravità, non senza gran misterio del giudicio di Dio, si oppose, quando essa prima si scoperse, il pontefico di quei tempi Paolo II. Perciochè queste tali cose, benchè possano parere molte minutie di poco momento, nondimeno sono come i segni, per li quali i medici prevendono pestilenza et i nocchieri la futura tempesta; anzi appresso de buoni et intendenti sono per aventura di maggior importanza che le demonstrationi più spesse delle cose più gravi, perche, secondo quel savio, nelle cose più piccole, dove non si finge e non si mette studio di apparenza nè si teme di esser punito, facilmente si comprende et l'habito della virtù e la secreta inclinatione el dispositione che l'huomo dà verso i vitii; così adunque da queste minaccie si scuopre una estrema alienatione d'animi et una poca riverenza et poco amore verso la religione et verso questa Santa Sede, periche [*sic*] il grandissimo travaglio si supporta hoggidì nel reggere, volendo conservare l'authorità ecclesiastica et mantener la sana et pura dottrina christiana. Discorso, p. 249b.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

but to whom are they to be entrusted for execution ? To the prelates of the day ? That would be to pour new wine into old bottles. To prelates who are yet to be trained ? Where are such to be found in sufficient numbers, and how are all the offices to be filled with them without having recourse to violence ? Further, should they aim at the abolition of all the abuses at a single blow, or should they content themselves with particular reforms ? The former course seems impossible, yet the latter is not enough ; it would be a case of patching an old garment with new cloth. Finally should they issue new reform regulations, which actually contained nothing beyond what was already prescribed in the old canons, or should they be content to devote themselves merely to the enforcement of the ancient rules of ecclesiastical discipline ?

When Pius IV. set to work, a few years later, really to put the work of reform into force, the greater part of the difficulties and fears of Commendone had already lost their force. The Council had decided as to how the renewal of Christendom was to be proceeded with. The reform of the princes and of the policy of national churches was indeed left to the judgment of history, but as far as the reform of the Roman court was concerned, it was precisely the crowning mistake of Paul IV., the war with Spain, which had brought about the most salutary change, in that henceforth the Papal States disappeared from among the number of the great powers of political importance, and the Pope and Cardinals had been thrown back upon their proper sphere of activity, the care of the spiritual government of the Church.

Pius IV. had, even while the Council was still sitting, issued drastic measures against the deplorable abuses in the Roman official world. The Rota, the Penitentiaria, and the various Roman tribunals had been subjected to new regulations.¹

¹ Bull of reform for the Rota of December 27, 1561, Bull. Rom., VII., 155 ; for the Penitentiaria, of May 4, 1562, *ibid.*, 193 (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 188) ; for the corrector of the Apostolic Chancery, of May 27, 1562, Bull. Rom., VII., 200 ; for the tribunal of the Apostolic Camera, of May 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 79 ; for the auditor of the Camera, of June 2, 1562, *ibid.*, 207 ; for the other tribunals,

We have, the Pope wrote to Philip II., on May 23rd, 1562,¹ inaugurated a very strict reform, which will prove to be the salvation of the world, and we intend to carry it still further ; in doing so, we are not considering our own advantage, for we have, at one stroke, deprived ourselves of 200,000 scudi. After the close of the Council, the superintendence of these tribunals, and the carrying out of this reform, was entrusted to the Congregation of Cardinals which was charged with the execution of the Tridentine decrees.² The Apostolic Camera, on November 1st, 1564, was again subjected to an ordinance of reform.³ On November 7th, 1565, the Penitentiaria was placed under the direction of Borromeo as Grand Penitentiary.⁴

The reforms of Pius IV. in the matter of benefices were of great importance. All expectancies and reservations, even if they had been granted to Cardinals, were withdrawn or limited as early as September 10th, 1560.⁵ A constitution of the same year was directed against the not uncommon artifice of begin-

of June 31, 1562, *ibid.*, 214 ; for the *Signatura iustitiae* of June 31, 1562, *ibid.*, 234. The *Avviso di Roma of March 31, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 2b, Vatican Library) records the rumour that the *Signatura gratiae* would also be reformed.

¹ "Noi di quà havemmo fatto et facemmo una reforma asperima et che sarà la salute del mondo (Collección de documentos inéditos, IX., 198). Havemo già fatta et eseguita una rigorosissima riforma de le cose de la corte con danno nostro particolare di più di 200 mila scudi di capitali di officii, oltra quel che a la giornata si perde de gli emolumenti del datariato et altri officii, che è una sommo notabile." Instruction for the Archbishop of Lanciano of June 29, 1562, in SICKEL, *Berichte*, II., 118 *seq.* In the same sense see Borromeo to the Spanish nuncio, Crivelli, May 24, 1562, in EHSES, VIII., 272, n. 5.

² See *supra* p. 57.

³ Bull. Rom., VII., 310 *seq.*

⁴ RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 24. PANVINIUS, *De creatione Pii IV.*, in MERKLE, II., 599. *Avviso di Roma of November 5, 1565 (Urb. 1040, Vatican Library).

⁵ *Regula revocatoria expectativarum, mandatorum, reservationum, facultatum et indultorum quibusvis etiam cardinalibus concessorum. Editti, 126 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

ning interminable lawsuits, so as not to be forced to give up illegally held Church revenues.¹ The so-called "confidential" simony, which was practised in the matter of benefices by means of the *accessus* and *regressus* and the like, had already been forbidden to the Cardinals by Pius IV. in the consistory of May 14th, 1562;² in the years that followed he again admonished them,³ and issued a formal decree on the matter, which was chiefly aimed at the Curia itself.⁴ The prohibition to the nuncios to receive benefices or promotion through the intervention of the secular princes, struck at the very highest dignitaries of the Church.⁵ On May 12, 1564, the Pope ordered that when, for the future, the affairs of a Cardinal were discussed in consistory, as, for example, the conferring upon him of a church or abbey, the Cardinal in question was to withdraw from the room, so that the others might express their views on the case with greater freedom.⁶ Pius also renewed and amplified the provisions of the Council of Trent against unconscientious titular bishops, who conferred Holy Orders on all and sundry who asked for them.⁷

The successor of Paul IV. had modified many of the strict regulations of that Pope, such as the constitutions against

¹ Bull. Rom., VII., 77. The date October 26 (not 29), 1560, can also be fixed with certainty from the *Editti 125 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

² RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 188. Cf. EHSES, VIII., 272 seq.

³ *Acta consist. card. Gambarae of December 30, 1563, and March 23, 1564 (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 257 and 290).

⁴ Bull. Rom., VII., 305 (October 16, 1564). RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 55. Occasion for this decree was apparently afforded by the death of Cardinal Sforza, whose friends had demanded the keeping of about 20 benefices (consistory of October 6, 1564). *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, *loc. cit.*, 386 seq.

⁵ Bull. Rom., VII., 369 (May 18, 1565). RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 5. *Acta consist. Cancell., IX., of April 13, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

⁶ GULIK-EUBEL, 41.

⁷ RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 23; cf. Conc. Trid., sess. 14, can. 2.

"apostates" from the religious orders,¹ the alienation of Church property,² and the Jews.³ Moreover, a decree upon the Papal election, which Pius IV. had, at any rate, the intention of issuing, had, it would appear, been suggested to him by the very contrast between himself and his predecessor.⁴

When the reassembling of the Council of Trent was under consideration, Pius IV., following the example of Paul IV., and to a great extent in his very words,⁵ had on September 22nd, 1561, issued a bull, by which the right of electing the Pope, even during the session of the Council, was restricted to the Cardinals and not to the Council.⁶ The bull was only published in the consistory of November 19th, 1561. On this occasion Pius "decided and declared" that the Pope could not appoint his successor, nor a coadjutor with the right of succession, not even if all the Cardinals, either together or separately, gave their consent, so that the election was left to the free decision of the Cardinals.⁷ According to the account of Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, Pius added that he had made this declaration because "certain people" thought that this power belonged to the head of the Church, and that he would make arrangements that a bull should be framed on the point.⁸ It may be gathered from another report of the same consistory of November 19th, who the persons were who ascribed such wide powers to the Pope. Paul IV., it is here stated,⁹ was of opinion that he could himself appoint his successor, and attempted to do so. Probably his eagerness to exclude from the tiara certain Cardinals of whose faith he entertained suspicions, notably Cardinal Morone, gave rise

¹ Bull. Rom., VII., 15 (April 3, 1560).

² *Ibid.*, 58 (September 11, 1560).

³ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴ For what follows, *cf.* EHSES in the Dritten Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft für 1913, 56-67.

⁵ Bull of November 19, 1544, in EHSES, IV., 388.

⁶ RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 8. EHSES, VIII., 248.

⁷ Acta consist. Cancell. in EHSES, *loc. cit.* (Vereinsschrift), 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹ Avviso di Roma of November 22, 1561, *ibid.*

to this idea in the mind of Paul IV. ;¹ Pius IV. accordingly took this opportunity to make any such attempt impossible for the future.

The promised bull did not appear, but Pius IV. again recurred to the matter in the consistory of May 18th, 1565.² The question, he said, whether the Pope has the right to appoint a coadjutor with the right of succession, has been controverted hitherto ; discussions had been held on the point under various Popes, and recently under Paul IV., while even now the affirmative view had its supporters ; he therefore intended to put an end to these differences of opinion by issuing a Papal decision. Morone, indeed, declared that such a decision was unnecessary, as no Pope would dare to name his successor himself, and this view found favour among the Cardinals. Some, with Reumano, even thought the proposed decree harmful, as it would give the impression of the existence of a real danger which had to be legislated against. Finally, however, the majority of the Cardinals agreed to the drafting of the constitution, whereupon Pius IV. declared his intention of proceeding with it. The existence of such a decree would always be an obstacle to any Pope who, in the future, might really desire to appoint his successor, even though it was not easy to safeguard it with such clauses as would render its abrogation impossible. Pius, however, did not, even now, go beyond this oral declaration in consistory ; the proposed constitution did not appear, and the question which it was intended to decide still remained open as before.

The bull of Pius IV. concerning the conclave, dated October 9th, 1562, is, on the other hand, of great importance with regard to the conduct of the Papal election, the necessity for the reform of which had been so glaringly illustrated in the proceedings at the election of the Medici Pope himself.³ In this

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 302 *seqq.*

² *Acta consist. card Gambarae*, published by SÄGMÜLLER in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXV. (1896), 425 *seqq.*

³ Bull. Rom., VII., 230 *seqq.* A **Declaratio facultatum con-clavistarum* of September 22, 1562, in *Editi*, 156 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

new bull, which was issued after long deliberations,¹ Pius IV. confirms and amplifies the conclave bulls of his predecessors, from Gregory X to Julius II. The Cardinals absent from Rome are only to be waited for for ten days after the death of the Pope. The obsequies for the deceased pontiff are to last for nine days ; should a feast intervene, on which it is not possible to celebrate the funeral offices, it is nevertheless to be included in the nine days, and the disbursements for the service which is omitted are to be given to the poor. The funeral expenses, which had become exorbitant, are not to exceed the sum of 10,000 ducats, including the payments to the clergy who assist ; the money bestowed in alms on the Roman populace, however, was not included in this. After ten days had elapsed the Cardinals must go into conclave without fail, and set to work at once on the business of the election, without waiting to draw up an election capitulation.

During the vacancy the College of Cardinals is not to assume any power belonging to the Pope ; they are to issue no orders with regard to the temporal affairs of the States of the Church, or the Papal treasury, except such as may be necessary for the support of the Papal household or the defence of the States of the Church. The offices of Camerlengo and Penitentiary are to be retained, though their powers are restricted ; the office of Datary lapses, and the *Signatura Gratiae* is in abeyance.

In the conclave itself, the right of calling together the electors, and discussing with them doubtful points and matters of business which may arise, belongs, during the first three days, to a committee composed of the senior Cardinal Bishop, Cardinal Priest, and Cardinal Deacon. After the lapse of three days these give place to the next three in seniority, and so on. The cells of the conclave are to be assigned by lot, and are not to be changed or enlarged. A number of regulations enjoin the strict observance of the enclosure, which had

¹ Together with SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlbullen, 131, 298 *seq.*, see the recent articles by SINGER in the *Zeitschrift für Rechtgesch.*, XXXVII., Kanon. Abt., VI., 103 *seq.*

been almost entirely ignored at the last conclave. No one is to inhabit any room adjoining the conclave, either above or below or at the sides. The cells, as well as the walls of the enclosure must be frequently inspected by the deputation of Cardinals, to see that there are no prohibited openings. Each Cardinal is to be allowed only two servants, or, in case of illness, at the most three ; these must have been a considerable time in his service, and must be approved for the conclave by the deputation of Cardinals. Besides these, one sacristan, two masters of ceremonies, one confessor, two physicians, one surgeon, one apothecary, one carpenter, one chamberlain, two barbers, and ten servants, were to be admitted. In general, no visits from persons outside are to be allowed, nor any correspondence with them. Bets concerning the election are forbidden. The guardians of the conclave are to allow no news to enter, and a conclavist is only to be allowed to go into the city on the sworn testimony of a physician, and he must not return. Every elector must at least have received the subdiaconate. No one is to be excluded from the conclave on the pretext that he is excommunicated, or has otherwise incurred the censure of the Church. In giving their votes the Cardinals are not to be influenced by the recommendations of the secular princes or by other worldly considerations, but are only to keep God before their eyes. The prelates, officials and ambassadors, to whom the protection of the conclave is entrusted, must bind themselves by oath to the observance of these regulations, which must, on each occasion, be read and sworn to by the Cardinals before the beginning of the election proceedings.

Although all these regulations had been carefully thought out, it was not possible by such means to remove the principal cause of the disorders in the conclaves which had been held in recent times. Under the existing conditions it was impossible to deprive the Catholic princes of their influence upon the election. Once this was acknowledged, then intercourse between them and the Cardinals could not be completely prevented ; in other words, the strict regulations concerning the enclosure had to be relaxed, and as long as the existing

conditions remained unchanged, it was impossible for any decree to effect a reform of any importance.

The observance of the duty of residence, especially by the bishops, was looked upon by all persons of discernment as the principal point of ecclesiastical reform. The Council of Trent had already issued decrees on this matter in 1547; when it returned to the subject in 1562, Cardinal Seripando remarked that, in the opinion of all nations, the present Council would far excel all previous assemblies if it only succeeded in giving effect to this one decree as to residence.¹ All efforts, however, to enforce the observance of this duty had hitherto proved unsuccessful. Paul IV. had endeavoured to enforce it with the utmost severity during the last year of his life.² He only succeeded in driving the prelates who were forgetful of their duty to seek another Rome in Venice or Naples; after his death they returned to the seat of the Curia.³ Pius IV. from the first displayed great determination with regard to the question of residence;⁴ after a preliminary admonition in the consistory of February 7th, 1560, he summoned all the bishops then in Rome to appear before him eight days later, and ordered them to return to their dioceses at the beginning of Lent. The prospect, however, of soon being able to send them to the General Council at Trent, caused the Pope to refrain, for the moment, from further pressure. It was only

¹ Seripando to Borromeo, May 17, 1562, in SICKEL, *Berichte*, II., 116. Diego Covarruvias, Bishop of Ciudad-Rodrigo, wrote on September 7, 1562, that he had in his diocese one of the smallest in Castile, 156 persons with the care of souls, of whom hardly a quarter resided in their parishes (*ŠUSTA*, III., 10). This statement is very characteristic of the state of things at that time.

² Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 234.

³ Egidio Foscarari to Cardinal Morone, May 18, 1562, in BECCADELLI, III., 333. Foscarari was of opinion that things would be very different if the duty of residence were declared to be of divine precept, the breaking of which would be a mortal sin, "non essendo ancora gli Ecclesiastici venuti a questa impudenza di non curarsi di stare in peccato pubblico mortale (*ibid.*).

⁴ Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 129.

when this prospect did not seem likely to be realized, that he again assembled the bishops who were in the Eternal City, on September 4th, and exhorted them to fulfil their former promise;¹ he then caused to be read to them a constitution, which reminded prelates of their pastoral duties, threatened the negligent, and promised privileges to the obedient.²

After the close of the Council, the Pope insisted, in the first consistories, that the question of residence should now be seriously taken in hand.³ As, however, many of the prelates were worn out by their exhausting labours at the Council,⁴ he was once more indulgent. It was not until March 1st, 1564, that he again summoned all the bishops in Rome to a consistory and exhorted them in a long speech to return to their flocks. No one was to be exempted from this duty; he would in future employ no bishop for the business of the Curia, or make use of them as nuncios or governors, and would only grant a dispensation for the most urgent reasons; his own nephews must spend at least a part of the year in their diocese. He was not at present thinking of a creation of Cardinals, but when he should do so, he would not overlook the merits and piety of each; he then dismissed them with his blessing and permission to start on their journeys.⁵ He gave the same

¹ LAEMMER, Melet., 212. ŠUSTA, II., 283. EHSES, VIII., 66. Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 255.

² Constitution of September 4, 1560, Bull. Rom., VII., 55. *Bandi V., 11 (Papal Secret Archives). See also WYMANN, 105 seq.

³ See *supra* p. 2. A *motuproprio of March 10, 1563 "super parochialium ac aliarum ecclesiarum curatarum collationibus necnon iuramenti et fidei iussione praestandis de residendo," in the *Editti, 165 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

⁴ *Acta consist. card. Gambræ, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 268b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 267 seqq. " *Hoggi è stato concistoro et prima sua B^{no} ha fatto chiamar tutti li prelati che sono in Roma et con longo ragionamento gli ha eshortati andare alle residenze loro, allegando non haver per hora resolutione di far cardinali, e che quando penserà questo, non mancherà tenere memoria delli meriti di ciascuno et delle virtù loro, così gli ha benedetti et licentiati che

instructions to the Cardinals who held bishoprics ; if any of them had given up their church in favour of a relative, they must now send that relative away and settle at least 1,000 ducats on him.¹ When Pius visited the Belvedere some weeks later, and found several bishops in the Hall of Constantine, he caused his chair to be stopped, and asked them why they had not returned to their dioceses. When some of them replied that they had been detained in Rome by lawsuits or other business, he insisted that they should go ; they could leave behind procurators and advocates for the lawsuits, for anyone might plead a lawsuit as an excuse for not fulfilling the duty of residence ; even the Cardinals must go. The Pope then summoned an auditor, and charged him to give orders to all to depart, on the penalty of losing their benefices. A short time afterwards a general monitorium was issued, which bound everyone to the duty of residence under the same penalty.² On November 25th, 1564, another ad-

vadino. Si dice che il medemo ha fatto de cardinali che hanno chiese, però con molta modestia.” Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, on March 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

¹ See GULIK-EUBEL, 40. Cf. the consistory of March 23, 1564. *Acta consist. card. Gambaræ, *loc. cit.* 290.

² *Questa mattina S. B^{no} andando in Belvedere et vedendo nella sala di Costantino alcuni vescovi, si fermò, et seduta nella sede dove si fa portare dimandò a ciascuno di loro perchè non andavano alli loro vescovati, et allegando alcuni, chi liti et altre occasioni, gli comandò espressamente che andassero, et che chi havesse liti lasciasse procuratori et avvocati, soggiungendo ogniuno si fingeria della lite per non andare alla residenza, volemo che ci vadino anco li cardinali, et chiamò l' auditore della camera ch' era gli presente et gli ordinò che comandasse a tutti che gli andavano, et anzi che sotto pena di privatione andassero, dicendo, ne privaremo due o tre, et così sarà exemplo agli altri. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, Rome 1564, April 8. *Oltra l' admonitione che S. S^{ta} fece questi dì passati ad alcuni vescovi che andassero alli loro vescovati, nuovamente ha fatto formare un monitorio generale a tutti, ma in esso specialmente ni nomina molti, et tutti quelli che sono in Roma, nel quale li comanda che vadino alla residenza sotto pena di privatione, et si ha da intimare a

monition followed, and laid it down that the property of non-resident prelates and priests with the cure of souls, should revert at their death to the Apostolic Camera.¹ On May 5th, 1565, yet another monitorium against non-resident ecclesiastics was issued.²

The prescriptions of the Council on the subject of the accumulation of benefices also caused no small anxiety, and they could only be put into force gradually.³ In accordance with the considerate principles of canon law, the Council's regulations were not extended to petitions which had been presented before the confirmation of the Council.⁴

One can hardly be mistaken in recognizing in all these tutti. Tonina to the Duke, dated Rome, Apr. 19, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also WYMAN, 106. Cf. *Caligari to Commendone, Apr. 15, 1564, Lettere di princ., XXIII., 49 (Papal Secret Archives).

¹ Bull. Rom., VII., 332 *seq.* *Bandi V., 11 p. 76 (Papal Secret Archives).

² *Ibid.*, p. 79. *Editti 187 (Casanatense Library, Rome).

³ *" Il tumulto nato per questi che hanno più benefici ha fatto tanto che hieri si fece una congregatione per questo ultimamente, per la quale si risolse che fosse bene far un'altra prorogatione a rassegnarli et si crede che S. Stà acconsentirà che si publichi la bolla. Et perchè li vescovi usano ogni rigore contra de questi et anco per le residenze, pare anco che S. B^{ne} vogli fare una regola di Camera, che tutti li benefici che vacaranno per li decreti del concilio siano affetti et tocchi solo a S. B^{ne} a conferirgli." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Dec. 25, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ *" È uscito finalmente il motu proprio che prolunga la residentia a preti dalle calende di maggio per tutto ottobre prossimo. La dataria è alquanto allargata et ha commissione di segnare tutte le supplicazioni che siano state presentate nanti la confirmatione del concilio. Passano medemamente le dispense de matrimonii contratti sin a quel tempo purchè li contrahenti giurino di non haver saputo quel che di ciò all'hora havesse ordinato il concilio in tal materia, et però è passata una dispensa di due scicliani li quali havevano contratto in 2^o grado, la quale però gli è costata mille scudi." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, July 29, 1564, *loc. cit.*

regulations for reform the influence of the Secretary of State on his uncle the Pope. Borromeo came more and more to look upon the furtherance and carrying out of the decrees of Trent as his life's work, and to this task he devoted, with the greatest determination and persistence, all his talents, his no small influence over the Pope, and, later on, his pastoral labours. He became for all time the model and guide for the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees, and he thus became one of the most influential ecclesiastical reformers, while his name must ever be closely associated with that of the Council of Trent.

While the Council was sitting, the whole of the extensive correspondence with the legates passed through the hands of Borromeo.¹ Every week reports and letters from Trent were constantly arriving in Rome, often several on the same day, and it was the duty of the Secretary of State to present a report on all these to the Pope. It is true that short summaries of these documents were prepared for him by subordinate officials, but there is reason to believe that Borromeo did not base his reports to the Pope on these summaries alone, but that he read the documents themselves.² Pius IV. himself decided what answers were to be sent, but it was the duty of the Secretary of State to examine and correct the drafts of these replies.³ It is clear, moreover, that on many occasions, Borromeo did not conduct the correspondence with the Council merely as a tool in his uncle's hands, but that he formed his own opinion on events, and maintained it even against the Pope.⁴

¹ For what follows *cf.* C. VITALI in *La Scuola cattolica*, Ser. 4, XVIII. (1910), 769-801.

² VITALI (*loc. cit.* 778) thinks he can find authority for this statement, by a comparison between the requests of the legates and the replies.

³ For the progress of the negotiations in the secret secretariate see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 110.

⁴ On the question of the safe-conduct for the Protestants he, on April 1, 1562, first sent that which the Pope had decided upon (ŠUSTA, II., 75), but he attached to this a letter to Simonetta,

The joy and self-sacrifice with which Borromeo took upon his shoulders this great burden of work, in which he saw the service of God, and the well-being of the Church, is sometimes to be seen in his merely business communications with the legates.¹ On the day of the closing of the Council he speaks of it as the greatest benefit which could have been conferred on the world, an enterprise redounding to the honour of the Pope, a thing both beneficial and necessary for Christianity, and one which had set free the Church of God from great danger at a moment of dire peril. Perhaps so distinguished a gathering would not meet again for many centuries, and he burned with zeal to see the Council carried into effect at once as the needs of Christendom demanded.²

Borromeo began the work of carrying out the Tridentine regulations in his own household and his own person. When, immediately after the close of the Council, he reduced his princely state, increased the simplicity and strictness of his manner of life, and set himself to the practice of preaching, he was led to this more than anything else by his respect for the ordinances of Trent.³ The Council should not have vainly laid it down that the state of a bishop must be simple, and that preaching is his first duty.⁴ Borromeo went much further than the mere words of the Council; the "almost regal

in which he expressed his own rather different idea (*ibid.*, 76). On the occasion of the controversy about the duty of residence, he, on May 11, sent to the legates, together with the Pope's letter, another one "in his own name" (*ibid.*, 136).

¹ KONSTANTIN GERMANUS, *Reformatorenbilder*, 157, 308, Freiburg, 1883. GRISAR, *Disput.*, I., 400 *seq.*

² ŠUSTA, IV., 454 *seq.* "É tanto il desiderio mio che hormai s'attenda ad exequir poi che sarà confermato questo santo concilio conforme al bisogno che ne ha la christiantia tutta e non più a disputare . . ." *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 119 *seqq.* *"Cardinal Mark Sittich wrote on June 15, 1564, to Count Hannibal von Hohenems that Cardinal Borromeo had dismissed 150 members of his suite, and got rid of all his horses." (Hohenems Archives).

⁴ Sess. 25, de ref., c.1. ; sess. 24, de ref., c.4.

magnificence of his court "¹ disappeared more and more, until it became an almost exaggerated simplicity.

It was an inestimable advantage for the reform movement in Rome that the nephew of the Pope, the first and most influential of the Cardinals, should have placed himself at its head. "He gives everyone so splendid an example," wrote the Venetian ambassador Soranzo, in 1565, "that it may indeed be said that he is in his own person the cause of more good at the Roman court than all the decrees of the Council of Trent taken together."²

If the Papal court, as Soranzo writes,³ was no longer the same as it had been, this change must not be entirely attributed to the influence of Borromeo. The Cardinals had now become poorer, says the same correspondent,⁴ since they had had to give up their benefices in England and Germany after the defection of those countries. Moreover, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence they could no longer accumulate three or four bishoprics and numerous benefices in their own hands. Besides this, the foreign princes no longer sought the friendship of the Cardinals so eagerly as they had been wont to do. The weakness of the States of the Church had become only too apparent under Paul IV.; it was, therefore, no longer of the same importance to the princes whether this man or that became Pope, so that they no longer strove, by means of costly gifts, to secure for themselves a party in the College of Cardinals or in the conclave. One hardly hears nowadays, writes Soranzo, that this or that Cardinal is Imperial, French, or Spanish, and their partisanship for the princes has disappeared with the liberality of the latter. Philip II., moreover, considered himself so powerful that in his opinion the Pope would in any case be obliged to be on friendly terms with him, while France, both on account of the whole tendency of her policy, and of her internal wars,

¹ The expression of CIIACONII (III., 891).

² GIAC. SORANZO, 133 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 136 *seq.*

could no longer think of mixing herself up in Roman affairs.

The vanishing wealth of the Roman princes of the Church was also the reason why men of talent no longer flocked to the Eternal City to make their fortunes in the service of the Cardinals. On account of the Tridentine decrees of residence, such men could, in spite of all their efforts to secure the favour of the great, only succeed in obtaining a single benefice. To serve a Cardinal any longer could not procure them a second, the duty of residence called them back to their flocks, and they left Rome.¹

The greater simplicity which gradually prevailed in Rome, however, must not be explained merely by the disappearance of the means of making a great display. A spirit of greater seriousness and of deeper religious feeling was making itself felt in the Eternal City, and this was, in no small degree, owing to the influence of Borromeo. "At the Curia," again says Soranzo,² "they live very simply, partly, as has been said, from want of means, but perhaps not less on account of the good example of Cardinal Borromeo, for those in subordinate positions adapt themselves to the example of their princes. No Cardinal or courtier can any longer count on favour, if he does not live, either in reality, or at least in appearance, as he does. At any rate, in public they stand aloof from every kind of amusement. Cardinals are no longer seen riding or driving masked in the company of ladies; at the most they sometimes ride in coaches, but without any retinue.³ Banquets, games, hunting parties, liveries, and all forms of external luxury, are all the more at an end because there

¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

² *Ibid.*, 138.

³ These coaches, which had not long before made their appearance in Rome, seemed as unsuitable to dignitaries of the Church as, in our own day, was the case at first with bicycles or motor cars. On November 17, 1564, Pius IV. forbade the Cardinals to come to the Vatican in future in travelling coaches, or in wooden carriages with two horses; they must ride, or, in case of sickness, make use of a sedan chair. See WYMANN, 102, n.1.

are no longer any lay persons of high rank at the court, such as were formerly to be found there in great numbers among the relatives and intimates of the Pope. Priests now go about in the dress of their order so that the reform is visible to the eye. On the other hand," Soranzo adds, "artisans and shopkeepers might as well declare themselves bankrupt; since the offices and posts are in the hands of the Milanese, who are well known to show but little generosity, there are very few people here who are pleased with the government."¹

It was inevitable that there should be no lack of complaints against the stern reformer and his "Theatine ways," but even Annibale Caro, who gives strong expression to this feeling,² testifies that people no longer came to Rome to make their fortunes, but to pray, and that the change in the city must be traced to the influence of Borromeo. Men of ecclesiastical sympathies,³ as well as the Roman populace, were,⁴ on the other hand, loud in the praises of Borromeo. It must have been of the utmost importance for the moral regeneration of the Eternal City that the Cardinal Secretary of State used his influence with the Pope to bring worthy men into the Sacred College. At the appointment of Cardinals on March

¹ GIAC. SORANZO, 138.

² "Di Roma non so che me le dire, se non che quell'acconcia stagni e candelieri ha tolto a rifaria tutta; et non gli basta Roma, che vuol fare il medesimo per tutto" (to Torquato Conti on July 22, 1564, in CARO, *Lettere famil.*, I., 50). "Se l'ambizione le facesse per avventura desiderar Roma, le ricordo che ci si viene hora per orare e non per pascere (letter to Sala on Feb. 20, 1564, in CARO, II., 100). *Cardinal Mark Sittich, who thought himself injured by Borromeo, wrote, on June 15, 1564, after Borromeo had reduced his own court, to Count Hannibal von Hohenems that he was of opinion that Borromeo would go mad from sheer stinginess; he acts as though he had not got an income of 2,000 crowns, nor is he satisfied with what he has, but is always seeking for more: this is the result of his *Theatineria* (Hohenems Archives).

³ Canisius to Hosius on Sept. 17, 1565, CANISIUS Epist., V., 96.

⁴ SYLVAIN, I., 243.

12th, 1565, no one was promoted except at the suggestion of Borromeo or with his consent.¹

The example of his nephew did not fail to have an influence on the Pope himself.² At the end of July, and the beginning of August, 1564, he reformed the Apostolic Palace, and over 400 superfluous courtiers were dismissed. A new majordomo had already been appointed, and for this important position Pius chose a man who had not before come into public notice, and whom the least of the Cardinals would not have chosen for such a position in his household. The Pope dismissed all the chamberlains outside Rome except five, and the number of the *camerieri segreti*, chaplains, grooms and horses was reduced. It was calculated that the Papal household saved 20,000 ducats yearly by these reforms.³

¹ GIAC. SORANZO, 135. The Archbishop of Pisa was recommended for the cardinalate by Borromeo. SALA, III., 337 *seq.*

² BASCAPÈ, 10, 19.

³ *' N.S. ha fatta riforma de la sua casa et dicono che ha cassato da 400 bocche per far il ponte di S. Spirito sopra il fiume et domani devesi pubblicare." Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma on July 22, 1564 (Carte Farnesiane 763, State Archives, Naples). *' S. Santità ha riformato il palazzo, id est n'ha cacciato 400 bocche." Girolamo Mei to Latino Latinio, Aug. 5, 1564 (Capitular Library, Viterbo). *' S. Beatitudine ha riformata la casa; il primo d' agosto prossimo si pubblicherà del tutto, et fra tanto ha pubblicato un maestro di casa nuovo, il quale è un Don Diodato Parmiggiano suo capellano, il quale sin qui non è stato in tanta consideratione che forse qual si voglia minimo Cardinale sifosse degnato di haverlo per suo maestro di casa. Ha cassato tutti li camerieri extra muros eccetto cinque che sono mess. Aurelo Porcelaca Bresciano, il conte Porsia del Friulli, il Mandello milanese, mess. Paulo Palucelli Romano et uno di Savoia. Alli camerieri secreti oltre che si restringono di numero ha ristretto anco il numero delle bocche et cavalcature, et ha cassato disdotto palafrenieri et molti capellani. Et perchè nessuno delle essecutori di questa riforma la publicchino prima del dì determinato, per non venir fastidito da questo et quello, gli ha comandato sotto pena di escommunicatione il silentio delli particolari. Quelli che intervengono a questa riforma sono,

Perhaps the measures that were taken for the improvement of ecclesiastical conditions in Rome were of even greater importance.¹ The Pope insisted that the divine worship in the titular churches of the Cardinals should be reorganized, and priests who gave scandal punished. Cardinal Savelli, the Vicar of Rome, received orders on May 12th, 1564, to arrange for the visitation of the Roman clergy by the titular bishop, Cesarini. Cesarini had previously been entrusted with the same duty; later on, Savelli, as well as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese made use of the Roman Jesuits for this difficult task, in the case of the churches which were under their jurisdiction. The same Society had also, in accordance

il cardinale Borromei, Altemps et s. Giorgio, il s. Gabrio Scierbellone, il castellano et il maestro di casa di S. Stà vecchio. Le bocche che si levano sono circa 475, li restanti si dice che saranno seicento, li quali haveranno pane et vino solamente, oltra quelli che haveranno le spese del tutto. L'avanzo che si farà per questa riforma si dice essere di 20 mille ducati ogni anno. Franc. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, July 29, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In a *letter of August 2, 1564, Tonina refers to the "mille stridi" on account of the reform in the "casa del papa." Already on Jan. 6, 1564, *Carlo Stuerdo had written to the Duke of Parma that "S. Stà sta per riformar la casa sua et dicono che si allegierà di molte bocche" (State Archives, Naples, Carte Farnes. 763). But at that time it was not carried out. Ludovicus Bondonus de Branchis Firmanus, *Diarium*, Aug. 2, 1564 (Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 12, 29 *seq.*, 374).

¹*Acta consist. card. Gambarae, May 12, 1564, Rome, 40—G—13 p. 315b *seq* (Corsini Library). SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 8 *seq.* (a. 1560); l. 8, n. 10, 20 (a. 1564). ŠUSTA, II., 233. * . . . "S. Stà nel ultima congregatione che si fece dimostrò di voler che in ogni modo si estirpassero gli abusi et parlò contro i vitiosi e dediti alle lascivie, il giorno seguente fece publicare un bando contro i concubinari che in certo tempo debbano sbrigarsi dalle loro concubine sotto gravissime pene se non obediranno. Gli rni cardli deputati sopra la reforma del collegio de cardli tosto riferiranno a S. Stà le constitutioni fra loro determinate accioche S. Stà approvi o levi quello che le parerà." Francesco Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, Aug. 7, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

with the prescriptions of the Council, to examine candidates for Holy Orders, as well as those seeking benefices.

The reforming care of the Pope was also extended to the citizens and nobles of Rome. Several edicts of the years 1564 and 1565 are directed against blasphemy, against walking about in the churches, against prostitutes, who were not to be allowed to live in the neighbourhood of churches or of noble married women, against vagabonds, and against the bearing of arms.¹ A confraternity, which gathered together homeless and insane beggars from the streets of Rome, and gave them protection from cold and hunger, was confirmed by the Pope and enriched with indulgences and privileges,² as well as a pious association which combatted prostitution by undertaking the care and education of poor girls between the ages of nine and twelve.³ The Hospital for Catechumens, which specially looked after the converts from Judaism, likewise enjoyed the protection of the Pope.⁴ An edict of December 10th, 1563, issued by the magistracy in the name of the Pope, gave very detailed rules concerning the degree of luxury which might be allowed in matters of dress at banquets.⁵ On the other hand, the Pope absolutely required of the Cardinals that they should maintain a state in keeping with

¹ *Bando sopra la biastema et del passeggiare per le chiese. Jan. 8, 1564 (Bandi V., 7, p. 1, Papal Secret Archives). *Bando contra le corteggiane et altre persone scandalose, dell'armi, dell'aiutto si deve dare a chi è offeso, contra li vagabondi e sopra l'allogiare de forastieri, Sept. 20, 1564 (Editti V., 60, p. 207). *Bando contra biastemmatori, giocatori, et contra corteggiane o meretrici che non possino habitare appresso le chiese e gentil-donne maritate, et che donne da 8 anni in su non possino andare vendendo per Roma cichorea et altre herbe. May 28, 1655, *ibid.*, p. 208 (Papal Secret Archives).

² Bull of Sept. 11, 1561, Bull. Rom., VII., 139 *seq.*

³ TACCHI VENTURI, I., 668 *seq.* ; *cf.* 675.

⁴ Facultates et privilegia archiconfraternitatis monasterii B. Mariae Virginis annuntiatae et hospitalis catechumenorum de urbe. (*Editti 119, Casanatense Library, Rome).

⁵ See CLEMENTI, Carnevale, 225 *seq.* *Cf.* the Milanese *Pungolo di Domenica* of July 20, 1884 ; *Rivista storica*, 1907, 445.

their rank as princes of the Church. In the consistory of November 17th, 1564,¹ he accordingly forbade them to repair to the Vatican on solemn occasions in coaches. In accordance with the ancient custom they must come on horseback; Charles V. had especially admired the cavalcade of Cardinals at the ecclesiastical functions. The Pope was prepared to assign a dwelling in the Vatican to the poorer Cardinals who could not afford to keep a stable.² The whole of Rome, he said in the consistory of December 15th, 1564, was rejoiced that the Cardinals no longer rode about in coaches; such a means of conveyance should in future be left to women; it was not seemly for men, and he would take care that its use in future should be limited to ladies.³

The regeneration of the priesthood was not to be brought about by laws and penalties, but only by having the clergy of the future educated from their earliest youth in special establishments, and in a genuine sacerdotal spirit, so that an entirely new generation of priests might come into being.

¹ *Acta consist. Cancell., IX. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

² GULIK-EUBEL, 41. Cf. HÜBNER, Sixtus V., I., 73, and *supra* p. 79, n.3. "Hora tutti li cardinali quando gli occorrono andare a palazzo v'anno a cavallo et in pontificale et non in cocchio come facevano molti che erano poveri per eshortatione di S. Stà tornando ciò in decoro et riputatione id questa S. Sede, con haver dato intentione a quelli che non hanno il modo ni mantenere una stalla di cavalli di dargli le stanze in palazzo." Giacomo Tarreghetti to the Duke of Mantua, December 2, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

³ " *Dixit totam urbem magnam laetitiam cepisse, quod his diebus cardinales non viderit in rhedis. Visum esse restitutum pristinum huius Curiae splendorem, propterea cupere se ut perseveretur, ac ne domum quidem redeundo cardinales rhedis utantur. . . . Rhedas mulieribus relinquendas, in quas ne nimium severus sit, velle se illis rhedas indulgere; sed maximum sibi abusum videri, viros tanquam feminas rhedis uti; vos inquit rogabimus, alios vero cogemus ut rhedis abstineant." Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 409 (Corsini Library, Rome).

This view had already been expressed during the first period of the Council by the Jesuit Lejay, the representative of Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg.¹ The idea was first put into practice by Cardinal Truchsess in his college at Dillingen, in 1549,² and by Ignatius Loyola in the Germanicum in Rome, in 1552.³ Later, in 1555, Cardinal Pole exhorted the Bishops of Cambrai and Tournai to imitate the foundation of Loyola in their dioceses.⁴ and in 1556 he drew up for England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, his celebrated decree on seminaries, which became the basis of the decree on the subject in the Council of Trent.⁵ This was unanimously approved by the fathers of the Council, and some were of opinion that even had the synod accomplished nothing more than the promulgation of this one decree, it would still deserve credit for a work of incalculable importance.⁶

The fathers of the Council had originally intended to embody in their decree an express wish that such a seminary might be founded in Rome itself as would serve as a model for the whole world. The legates sought to evade this request by promising in the name of the Pope that he would meet their wishes, and found a seminary in Rome which would be worthy

¹ Congregation of April 6, 1546, in EHSSES, II., 79. Cf. the letter of the legates to Farnese on April 10, 1546: "fare come si faceva anticamente il seminario di bon preti, allevandoli da piccoli." EHSSES, I., 501. PALLAVICINI, 7, 2, 3.

² TH. SPECHT, *Gesch. der ehemaligen Universität Dilligen*, Freiburg, 1902, 8 *seqq.* Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 227.

³ Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 229 *seqq.*

⁴ AUG. THEINER, *Gesch. der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, Mayence, 1835, 103.

⁵ Sess. 23, de ref., c. 18. Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 392.

"Anno 1562, quando SS. Pontifex Pius IV. opus Cardinalis Pole de Concilio in typographia Aldina Romae imprimi mandavit ad usum concilii Tridentini, hae constitutiones [of the English Council, 1556] sub titulo Reformatio Angliae una cum praefato opere typis editae fuere." Arch. Conc. Trid., vol. 49, p. 13, in the *Documenta ad legationem Cardinalis Polis spectantia* (Rome s. a. [1896]) 30. ŠUSTA, I., 155; II., 45.

⁶ Paleotto in THEINER, II., 661.

of him and of the Eternal City. On July 26th, 1563, the legates therefore addressed a petition to Pius IV. in their own name and that of the Council, that he would soon take in hand a work which all considered so necessary and useful.¹ Borromeo answered on August 4th that the Pope already had in mind the plan of a model seminary in Rome.² In the consistory of August 18th, 1563, Pius IV. charged Cardinals Mula, Savelli, Borromeo and Vitelli to select, in conjunction with the Cardinal Dean, suitable youths, and to decide on the governing body of the institution; 6,000 ducats, provisionally assigned from the Apostolic Camera, should be paid annually for its maintenance.³

After the close of the Council, the Pope, in a consistory on December 30th, 1563, insisted on the fact that, after the duty of residence, the next important point of the reform must be the establishment of seminaries. He promised to found these in Rome and Bologna.⁴

It is certain that the want of suitable professors among the secular clergy of Rome is the explanation of the fact that after the lapse of six months, the Pope, in the consistories of March 1st and April 14th, 1564, had to exhort the Cardinals to hasten this work.⁵ Already, before the end of April, the deputation of Cardinals had arrived at the decision to entrust

¹ POGIANI Epist., III., 388. ŠUSTA, IV., 142. Facsimile of the letter and of Borromeo's reply of August 4 in (Carlo Sica) *Cenni storici del Pontificio Seminario Romano*, Rome, 1914, 8-9, 12-13.

² ŠUSTA, IV., 172.

³ ŠUSTA, IV., 196. POGIANI Epist., III., 388. Later there was talk of 10 cardinals to take charge of the seminary. ASTRAIN, II., 206.

⁴ POGIANI Epist., III., 387.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 389. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 272a, 301b (Corsini Library, Rome). In the *consistory of March 23 (*ibid.*, 291a) the financial difficulties of the undertaking were dealt with: "Clerum urbanum postulasse, ne qua nova taxatio beneficiorum fieret, semetipsos sua sponte taxaturos; si modo res ad exitum perduceretur, modum non curare." Cf. ASTRAIN, II., 207.

the seminary to the Jesuits ; the General of the Order, Lainez, gave definite promises in answer to the proposal made to him by Cardinal Savelli.¹

The news of these proceedings let loose a storm of ill-will against the Jesuits. There already existed but little friendly feeling towards them among the Roman clergy, because the Vicar of the city, Cardinal Savelli, had entrusted them with the thorny task of holding the examination, prescribed by the Council, of those seeking benefices and of the candidates for Holy Orders, and because he, as well as Cardinal Farnese, had caused the Jesuits to make a visitation of the Roman parishes.² Several Cardinals, the chapters of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Mary Major, and almost all the parishes of the city, were loud in their complaints, and gave the Pope a list of secular priests who were fully qualified to be professors in the seminary.³

Pius IV. had not been particularly favourable to the Jesuits in the first half of the year 1564, as he thought the changed manner of life of his nephew, Cardinal Borromeo, was due to their influence. However, he allowed himself to be appeased by Lainez, and the deputation of Cardinals on the question of the seminary adhered to their decision,⁴ which the Pope adopted in the consistory of July 28th.⁵ On July 31st he visited the Roman and German Colleges, accompanied by several cardinals, and declared himself well satisfied with the Jesuits.

A new and more violent storm, however, was already brewing. The titular bishop, Cesarini, whom Savelli had employed to make the visitation of the Roman parishes, till he replaced him by the Belgian Jesuit Goisson,⁶ drew up two indictments against the Order, full of every imaginable accusation against

¹ ASTRAIN, II., 206.

² SACCHINI, II., l. 8, n. 10.

³ ASTRAIN, II., 207. Cf. LANCIANI, IV., 75.

⁴ SACCHINI, *loc. cit.* n. 19.

⁵ POGIANI Epist., III., 389. *Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., 179b (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

⁶ Cf. *supra* p. 82.

the private lives of its members, as well as against their behaviour in the confessional and in the care of souls ; these two documents were not only circulated among the Cardinals in Rome, but were also spread abroad, especially in Germany, among persons of influence.¹ The Pope was indignant with Cesarini, but nevertheless caused his accusations to be submitted to the reform commission for careful examination.² The investigation proved the innocence of the accused,³ and at the end of the year the Pope himself took up their cause, describing the accusations, in briefs which he addressed to the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the three ecclesiastical Electors, and Cardinal Truchsess, as sheer inventions, and recommending the Society of Jesus to the goodwill of the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical.⁴

¹ SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 20 *seqq.*

² Polanco to Salmeron, October 28, 1564, and January 7, 1565, in SALMERON, *Epist.*, I., 555, 566. Francis Borgia to Araoz, November 25, 1564, in S. FRANCISCUS BORGIA, III., 725.

³ On some points the reform commission asked for more detailed information, which was given in *H. Natalis apologia Societatis Iesu* (NADAL, *Epist.*, IV., 148-65).

⁴ SACCHINI, VIII., n. 33. The brief to the Emperor, of December 29, 1564, in SACCHINI, II., I., 8 n. 34, and LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 349 *seq.*; that to the Elector of Mayence, of December 30, in SACCHINI, II., I. 8, n. 35, and POGIANI *Epist.*, III., 390 *seq.*; that to the Elector of Cologne, of December 30, in REIFFENBERG, *Historia S. J. ad Rhenum inferiorem*, Cologne, 1764, *Mantissa*, 24 ; that to Otto Truchsess, of December 28, in F. X. KROPF, *Historia provinciae S. J. Germaniae superioris*, pars V., decas 10, n. 425, Augsburg, 1754, p. 209. Manuscripts in the Papal Secret Archives, *Brevia* 20, n. 86 (to Truchsess), n. 89 (to Albert of Bavaria), n. 91 (to the Emperor), n. 92 (to the Archbishop of Mayence). Cf. CANISII *Epist.*, IV., 761, 773, 943. These briefs were printed at Dillingen in 1565, with a preface by Cardinal Truchsess. *Synopsis actorum* p. 37 n ; CANISII *Epist.*, V., 11. Borromeo gives the following opinion on the affair in a letter to Ormaneto on January 6, 1565 : Quanto al governo del Seminario [in Milan] non dubitate ch'io sia per rimuoverne i Padri gesuiti, sapendo bene la bontà, patientia et sufficientia loro in questo carico ; et se il clero mi scriverà sopra questo, saprò quello che doverò risponder loro,

The excitement against the Jesuits frustrated the Pope's intention of setting an example to the world in carrying out the seminary decree of the Council of Trent. Cardinal Mula anticipated him in the middle of 1564 in his diocese of Rieti.¹ In the same year the first Tridentine seminary was established on German soil² through the zeal of Martin von Schaumberg, Bishop of Eichstätt, and soon afterwards the dioceses of Camerino³ and Montepulciano⁴ followed this example. For the moment the Pope had to content himself with promoting the execution of the decree by sending letters of exhortation to the bishops.⁵ In France, the Archbishop of Cambrai, in his provincial synod of 1565, urged the establishment of seminaries.⁶

ne mi meraviglio che il demonio habbia suscitato costi degli istromenti suoi contra questi buoni padri, poi che non è mancato anchor qui in Roma chi ha cercato di impedirgli il medesimo governo con finger mille calunnie contra questi religiosi, le quali sono sparse in molti luoghi, et fino nella Germania ; onde Nostro Signore ha scritto diversi Brevi, et particolarmente all' Imperatore, giustificando la loro innocenza come vedrete per la copia che vi si mando ; pericò dico non mi par strano che anco in Milano si siano trovati di questi mali spiriti. SALA, III., 327.

¹ Cum decretum fuerit in s. synodo, ut in civitatibus erigeretur seminarium, ill^{mus} cardinalis meus primus fuit inter episcopos, qui illud erexit, et ascivit in illud pueros 26 iuxta tenuitatem sumptus. Lombardus to Hosius, July 24, 1564, in CYPRIANUS, 366.

² J. G. SUTTNER, *Geschichte des bischöflichen Seminars in Eichstädt*, Eichstädt, 1859. JULIUS SAX, *Die Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstädt*, Landshut, 1884, 458 *seq.*

³ MILTIADES SANTONI, *De Camertino clericorum seminario*, Camerino, s.a. (short account of the seminary 1564-1861).

⁴ POGIANI Epist., I., 347. According to UGHELLI, *Italia sacra*, IV., 1124, Rome, 1652, the seminary had already been started at Vercelli before 1562. Cf. CARDELLA, V., 25.

⁵ RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53, makes mention of two of these letters, of July 14 and 22, 1564, for Venice and Lyons, Cf. STEINHERZ, IV., 360, 427, 435 and *Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 173 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁶ See THEINER, *Bildungsanstalten*, 139 *seq.*

The Jesuit colleges were looked upon as seminaries in the sense of the Council. For this reason the seminary decree of Trent had been framed in such a way as to exempt the Jesuit colleges from the duty of contributing to the diocesan seminaries,¹ and when the fathers of the Council urged the establishment of a model seminary in the Eternal City, Morone had replied that Rome already had such institutions in the Roman College and the Germanicum.² For this reason, after the publication of the decree, many of the bishops sought to fulfil their duty by asking for Jesuit colleges in their dioceses.³ As Cardinal Truchsess wrote,⁴ it was Charles Borromeo who was, above all, filled with the desire that seminaries should be established in every diocese of Christendom, and he had already, since the third opening of the Council, with the support especially of the legate Morone and the General of the Jesuits, Lainez, been working zealously with all his might for the carrying out of this plan. As early as 1564 he had set up an institution at Pavia, for noble youths who were studying at the university,⁵ and at the end of the same year the opening of a true seminary in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent had followed in his own diocese of Milan.⁶ The first

¹ Polanco, Trent, July 15, 1563, in CANISIUS Epist., IV., 292 *seq.*; *cf.* 285.

² Polanco, July 12 (13), 1563, *ibid.*, 289.

³ Polanco to Canisius, beginning of July, 1563, *ibid.*, 286. SACCHINI, II., l. 7, n. 4. Concerning Mayence, see *infra*.

⁴ To the Cologne Jesuit, Joh. v. Reidt, September 13, 1564, in JANNSEN-PASTOR, IV.¹⁵⁻¹⁶, 427. On the efforts made to induce the Hungarian bishops to establish seminaries, see STEINHERZ, IV., 436; *cf.* 427.

⁵ San Carlo, 195, 200. *Cf.* R. MAIocchi and ATTILIO MOIRAGHI, Il Collegio Borromeo di Pavia, 1908. See also Vol. XV. of this work, p. 122.

⁶ Cardinal Borromeo to Ormaneto, Dec. 23, 1564. SALA, Docum., II., n. 197. The opening was originally fixed for Nov. 11, 1564. An indulgence brief of Pius IV., of Oct. 23, 1564, for those taking part in this festivity, in SALA, Docum., I., 147. Other briefs for the seminary, *ibid.*, 146, 148. For the efforts made by Borromeo to obtain candidates for the seminary, see

candidates received there came for the most part from Switzerland;¹ he placed the direction of this establishment in the hands of the Jesuits, who, however, accepted the charge only as a temporary measure.²

In the consistory of January 12th, 1565, the Pope acknowledged that he felt put to shame by the zeal of his nephew, and that Rome must no longer allow other cities to show her the way in the carrying out of the seminary decree. Cardinal Savelli was instructed to see to it that the necessary contributions for the maintenance of the seminary were promptly made.³ The institution was at last actually opened in the middle of February; the students attended the lectures at the Roman College, and the palace of Cardinal Carpi, who had lately died (May 2nd, 1564) was assigned to the seminary as its home.⁴

Carpi was the first and last Cardinal Protector of the Jesuit Order. After his death the Society resolved not to renew the petition for the appointment of a Protector. The Pope approved of this decision, saying that he would himself in future take that office upon himself.⁵ Except for the above-

SALA, Docum., II., 232 *seqq.*, n. 38-41, 45, 53, 61, 67, 78, 84, 86 *seqq.* Cf. also WYMANN, 100, and MAGISTRETTI, *Liber seminari, Mediolanensis*, in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XLIII., (1916), 1-3.

¹ SALA, *Biografia* 23.

² SALA, Docum., III., 830.

³ *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 420b (Corsini Library, Rome). Cf. DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 590 *seq.*; LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 218.

⁴ Borgia to Salmeron, Feb. 18, 1565, SALMERON, *Epist.*, II., 6. The first Jesuit rector, Peruschi (*cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, p. 167), took possession of the Roman Seminary on Jan. 28, 1565 (Polanco to Salmeron, Jan. 28, 1565, *ibid.* 3). For the subsequent history of the establishment see MORONI, *Dizionario*, LXIV., 5-22; HANNIBAL ADAMI, *Seminarii Romani Pallas purpurata*, Rome, 1569; (Carlo Sica) *Cenni storici del Pontificio Seminario Romano*, Rome, 1914.

⁵ Polanco to Canisius, May 20, 1564, CANISII *Epist.*, IV., 534. For the motives for not asking for another Protector, see SACCHINI, II., I. 8, n. 5 *seqq.*

mentioned temporary misunderstanding, Pius IV., in other ways as well, showed great favour to the Society of Jesus, by confirming and increasing their privileges.¹ He expressly annulled the regulation of his predecessor that the General should only retain his office for three years.² When the Council of Trent, in its decree on the religious orders, praised and recognized the special constitution of the Society of Jesus,³ this was done with the express sanction of the Pope.⁴ It was France which gave occasion for this declaration, when its Parliament had made the admission of the Order, which was so violently opposed there, dependent on the decision of the Council.⁵ Later on, Pius IV. sent a letter, full of high praise of the Jesuits, to Charles IX., to whom he recommended the college of the Order in Paris.⁶ On many other occasions as well he raised his voice for the promotion and protection of the young order. He wrote in this sense to Cardinal Granvelle,⁷ in the Netherlands, where the Jesuits had great difficulties to contend with. He exhorted the Archbishop of Goa to respect their rights,⁸ and the clergy of Augsburg to

¹ *Synopsis actorum* 27, n. 31 (confirmation of the general approval of 1561). Certain privileges renewed or granted, *ibid.* 30, n. 40; 31, n. 44; 34, n. 53; 35, n. 58; *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I., 31, 34, Florence, 1892.

² Oral decision, attested by Cardinal Este, June 22, 1561; see CANISII Epist., III., 178 *seq.*; cf. SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 13 *seqq.*; l. 5, n. 121 *seqq.* SALMERON, Epist., I., 447; NADAL, Epist., I., 474; Bobadillae Monumenta, 377.

³ Sess. 25, de regul. c. 16. ASTRAIN, II., 196 *seqq.* CANISII Epist., IV., 415. NADAL, Epist., II., 344, 379, 467, 630 *seq.*

⁴ Borromeo to the legates of the Council, Aug. 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 171 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 231.

⁶ On May 29, 1565, in SACCHINI, III., l. 1, n. 19. He wrote at the same time, and in the same sense to the Queen-Mother, to the Parliament of Paris, and to Cardinal Bourbon (*Synopsis actorum*, 41 n. 78-80). In all these letters the confirmation of the Order by the Council of Trent is emphasized.

⁷ On Oct. 30, 1561, in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 67.

⁸ *Synopsis actorum*, 29, n. 39 (Dec. 1, 1562).

keep the peace with them.¹ He also recommended them to the governor and senate of Milan,² to the Doge of Genoa,³ to the Emperor Ferdinand I.,⁴ and to Maximilian II.⁵ Pius IV. also instructed the nuncios Delfino and Commendone, when they were sent to invite the German princes to the Council, to arrange for the establishment of as many Jesuit colleges as possible in Germany.⁶

Lainez, the General of the Order, was held in high esteem by Pius IV., who sought his opinion, and attached great weight to his views, especially as to the difficult problem of the best manner of reassembling the Council.⁷ It was on the advice of Lainez that duels were forbidden,⁸ and the Tridentine profession of faith required of candidates for a doctor's degree.⁹ The representations of the General of the Jesuits also had a great influence in bringing about the mitigation of the Index.¹⁰ The successor of Lainez, Francis Borgia, was also treated with the greatest distinction by Pius IV. when, on the day of his election as General of the Society, July 2nd, 1565, he presented himself before the Pope.¹¹

Pius IV. spoke in terms of special praise of the Jesuits in a letter to Philip II., which shows plainly his anxiety for the firmer establishment of one of the most important educational institutions of that time, the Roman College. "Among all the religious orders," he wrote to the king on November 24th,

¹ CANISII Epist., IV., 902 *seqq.*; *cf.* 662.

² *Brevia II, n. 359, 360 (Papal Secret Archives). Synopsis 30, n. 41-2 (May 4, 1563).

³ *Brevia II, n. 362 *loc. cit.* Synopsis, 30, n. 43 (May 4, 1563).

⁴ In RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 65 (Aug. 8).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1564, n. 53 (Sept. 30).

⁶ SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 159; *cf.* l. 4, n. 7.

⁷ The advice in GRISAR, Disput., II., I *seqq.* The criticisms made in this, e.g. p. 15, are taken into consideration in the final drafting of the bull.

⁸ SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 10.

⁹ See *supra* p. 12. SACCHINI, II., l. 8, n. 41.

¹⁰ See *supra* p. 13.

¹¹ S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 17.

1561,¹ "the Society of Jesus deserves to be embraced with special love by the Holy See ; it exercises a zealous and fruitful activity on behalf of the Church, while the progress which the Order has made in so short a time, the good it has done, and the colleges it has founded, are almost incredible." There is, he continues, a large college of the Order in Rome, and the Pope recommends it to the protection and benevolence of the king on the ground that this institution serves as the training ground for the colleges of the Order in Italy, Germany and France ; from this source the Apostolic See continually draws capable labourers, to send them wherever they are needed.

Ignatius of Loyola had, as a matter of fact, when he founded the Roman College, the idea of providing a central point for his Order ; from it, as he caused Borgia to be informed in a letter of 1555,² colleges had already been spread through the whole of Italy, as at Perugia, Florence, Naples, Loreto, Ferrara, Modena, Genoa and Bologna : to say nothing of the college at Vienna, they were just then sending subjects to found one at Prague : at Strasbourg, Ratisbon, Gran and Ermland, they were insistently asking for similar establishments. The greater the lack of educated and exemplary Catholics in those places, the more important it was to provide a remedy, by the training of a more worthy laity ; this college therefore is an undertaking that concerns the whole world, and not the city of Rome alone.

In addition to being their training ground, it was stated in the same letter, the Roman College must also serve as the pattern and model for the other Jesuit colleges. According to the idea of Loyola, it was destined to become an instrument for the reform of the sadly decadent study of theology, in the first place for his own Order, and then over a much wider field. He wrote that he intended, in the capital of Christen-

¹ SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 158. RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 66. A *brief to Philip II. of Nov. 15, 1562, with a recommendation of the visitor, Nadal, and praise of the Jesuits, in *Brevia* 10, n. 365, p. 283b (Papal Secret Archives).

² On Sept. 14, 1555 : *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Ser. 1, IX., 609 *seq.*

dom, and at the headquarters of the Society of Jesus, to find out by experience what was the best method of conducting such colleges. A scheme of instruction for universities had already been drafted, and they were preparing text-books; they were confident that in a few years' time they would be able to put forward a course of studies "in accordance with which, in the shortest possible time and in the best way, they would be able to teach all the sciences necessary for the service of God, and the care of souls." Moreover, there were, especially in Italy, Sicily, Flanders and Germany, many youthful members of the Order, of great talent and capacity for the care of souls, who were unable to obtain in those countries a scientific training, for the reason that there studies were conducted negligently, and in an excessively prolix manner. For such the Roman College was also necessary. On another occasion Ignatius wrote to Borgia:¹ "I estimate the importance of this educational establishment so highly, not only for the Order, but for the whole Church, that I do not know in all Christendom of a better work than its foundation. If the other colleges of the Order were to give the Roman one half of every loaf, and half of every cloak they possess, they would be doing something of great value to themselves as well."

The beginnings of the University, which later on became so celebrated, were very modest. A generous gift of money from the then Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, who was in Rome in 1550,² made it possible for Ignatius to come nearer to the realization of his plans. On February 15th, fifteen students of the Order moved into a hired house, and lectures in Latin and Greek were commenced there on the following day.³ Hebrew was soon added to the curriculum;⁴ on October 18th, 1553, the philosophical and theological studies were inaugurated by a solemn disputation in the

¹ On Dec. 28, 1554, Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, VIII., 197; cf. XII., 290 *seqq.*

² Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 177.

³ Mon. Ign. Ser. 1, III., 339.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV., 59.

presence of six Cardinals. Medicine and civil law were excluded from the course of studies, but in 1554 there were five chairs of Latin, one each of rhetoric, Greek, and Hebrew, and three of philosophy. Every day there was a well attended lecture on mathematics, and another on morals, two further lectures on scholastic theology and one on the Holy Scriptures, being also given daily ;¹ the course of studies was widened in 1563 by lectures on cases of conscience, and moral philosophy, and it was also possible to obtain instruction in Arabic.² It was just because of this wealth of subjects that the Sapienza seemed to be eclipsed.³ In the year 1561 the number of students had risen to about 800 ; in the years that followed it was still larger, so that several of the classes had to be divided.⁴ In the reports special stress is laid upon the fact that many students also flocked to the lectures in philosophy and theology ;⁵ this was something new for Rome, and was all the more wonderful as the lectures were generally in the morning or the evening, and there were frequent disputations. This fact is a sign of the spirit of reform which was gradually making itself felt. The exclusive predominance of humanism was weakening, and a more serious spirit was taking hold of the Eternal City.⁶

A survey of the subjects taught at the Roman College clearly shows in what sense Ignatius had formed his ideas for the

¹ *Ibid.* VII., 258 ; *cf.* V., 613 ; IX., 608 *seq.*

² SACCHINI, II., l. 7, n. 5.

³ Mon. Ign. Ser. I., IX., 608.

⁴ SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 62 ; III., l. 3, n. 44 ; l. 4, n. 146.

⁵ Mon. Ign. Ser. I., VII., 258.

⁶ Even outside learned circles attention was fixed on the Roman College. Francesco Tonina wrote as follows to the Duke of Mantua on Oct. 30, 1560 : * " Heri si fece una disputa da questi novi theatini nella loro chiesa, della predestinatione et altri articoli, alle quale intravenero presenti il card^{le} di Ferrara et il card^{le} Savello, et dopo finita quella disputatione salì sul pulpito un giovanetto paggio pur di esso r^{mo} di Ferrara, il quale fece una assai bella oratione, et la quale fu lodata assai da molti dotti che furono presenti " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

reform of theological studies. The things which he found fault with in the method of teaching the sacred sciences at that time were its extraordinary prolixity, which did not exhaust the subject in the course of many years, the tendency to dwell on sophistries and trivialities, the neglect of the Sacred Scriptures, and its uninteresting form. Therefore we find in the curriculum of instruction at the Roman College, great stress being laid upon the Sacred Scriptures, the classics, and the positive sciences; the constant aim of the professors at the Roman College was to react against undue prolixity, and to discover a method which would combine the necessary thoroughness with the greatest possible brevity; the number of the drafts and the proposals with regard to this matter which we possess, belonging to the period before 1586, would fill a large volume.¹ Ignatius held firmly to scholasticism, at that time so ostracized, but it was something new for Italy that it was no longer the "master of the sentences" Peter Lombard, but above all Thomas Aquinas whose works were made the ground-plan of the lectures.²

By means of his Roman College Ignatius exercised no small influence upon the adaptation to his times of the method of teaching theology, and therefore, indirectly, upon the methods of preaching and giving instruction. It is true that Thomas Aquinas had, since the beginning of the XVIth century, and even before, come back to his place as the great master of the west, and following in his footsteps, the founders of the new scholasticism, the Spanish Dominican, Francisco da Vittoria (died 1546), and his disciples, Melchior Cano, Domenico and Pietro Soto and others, had opened a new era in the treatment of the science of theology.³ But it was of great importance for the triumph of this new treatment that the Order of the Jesuits should have adopted it in all its educational establishments, and thus have spread it far and wide.

¹ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu, quae primam rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere*, Madrid, 1901.

² TACCHI VENTURI, I., 58. SACCHINI, II., I. 4, n. 91.

³ Cf. F. EHRLE in *Katholik*, 1884, II., 497 *seqq.*, 632 *seqq.*; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XVIII. (1880), 388 *seqq.*

The actual alliance with the Spanish neo-scholasticism only took place, it is true, after the death of Ignatius. Francisco di Toledo, the talented disciple of Domenico Soto, who, when but 23 years old, was lecturing at the University of Salamanca, entered the Society of Jesus in 1558. In the following year he was teaching philosophy in the Roman College to 30 young Jesuits, who were being trained as professors. By his means the theological school of the new Order was linked with that of the older one.¹

During the lifetime of Ignatius, and for some time after his death, the Roman College could only be maintained with great difficulty, owing to the lack of means. The many students, drawn from the most widely separated nations, were lodged in a hired house, and there were no fixed revenues for their maintenance. It was only under Pius IV. that, to some extent at least, provision was made for this necessity. A niece of Paul IV., after the death of her husband, wished to make over her palace, the dwelling of her uncle when a Cardinal, to some religious order. In 1560 Pius IV. induced her to give the building to the Jesuits, as the home of the Roman College.² The attempts of Pius IV. to complete this benefaction by assigning to it fixed revenues were unsuccessful.³ On the other hand, the College received a church which, begun in 1562, was consecrated in 1567.⁴

Yet another establishment, dedicated to the education of noble youths, after modest beginnings under Paul IV., took definite form under his successor. The idea came from Lainez. Under Paul IV. this German College in Rome found itself on the verge of ruin,⁵ and it was then that Lainez sought

¹ SACCHINI, II., l. 2, n. 153 ; l. 3, n. 34.

² SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 2 *seq.*, 5.

³ CANISII Epist., IV., 242 *seqq.*, 258 *seqq.*, 262, 282. ŠUSTA, IV., 163. BALUZE-MANSI, III., 510.

⁴ SACCHINI, II., l. 6, n. 3. For the church of the S^{ma} Annunziata, on the site of which S. Ignazio afterwards was built, *cf.* CEPARI-SCHRÖDER, Hl. Aloysius, Einsiedeln, 1891, 42 *seqq.*, and L'Arte, 1913, Jan.-Apr.

⁵ *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 249 *seq.*

to render its continued existence possible by throwing it open to paying students of all nations, including even those who did not wish to enter the ecclesiastical state. In 1560 thirty-two such students were lodged with the original German students, whose number had then shrunk to seven. After that the number of the German students rose again to between twenty and thirty, while from the years 1563 and 1573 the College housed about 200 other students. After the new foundation of the Germanicum in the year 1573 the college of the nobles was united to the Roman Seminary.¹ In its new form the Germanicum won for itself a great name in the Catholic world, and sons of the most distinguished noble families sought their education there. Of the 180 extern students who were received there in 1565, 40 entered the ecclesiastical state, six of whom became bishops, while twenty entered the Society of Jesus.² Pius IV. came to the assistance of the German College with a monthly contribution of fifty gold florins.³

The tidings of the new religious life which had awakened in the Eternal City made a great impression everywhere. The Catholics of Germany, wrote Cardinal Truchsess, are filled with sheer joy at the news that the decrees of the Council are being carried out in Rome, and that the reform has penetrated into the household of the Pope himself. They have learned with the greatest satisfaction that the Pope has himself set up a seminary in Rome.⁴

¹ A. STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Kollegiums Germanikum Hungarikum in Rom*. I², 49 *seqq.*, Freiburg, 1906.

² STEINHUBER, I., 52 *seqq.*; *cf.* POGIANI *Epist.*, III., 433 *seq.*

³ CANISI *Epist.*, IV., 244. A *motuproprio of May 13, 1560, grants the Germanicum exemption from tax for 20 barrels of wine per annum (*Estratti de libri instrument. esistenti nell'Arch. segr. Vaticano*, 1374-1557, n. 3, p. 203). A *motuproprio of Aug. 20, 1560, extends to 40 the exemption for 20 barrels granted by Julius III. to the Jesuits (*ibid.* 209). State Archives, Rome.

⁴ Instruction for the Jesuit de Mendoça who was returning to Rome, in EHSES, in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, Supplementheft, XX. (1913), 141.

The insistence and exhortations of the Pope¹ also called into being outside Rome at any rate the beginnings of a new life. Already in 1560 Cardinal Ghislieri had made a visitation of his diocese of Mondovì.² Commissioned by Cardinal Scotti, Caligari held a visitation of the neglected diocese of Piacenza.³ Other visitations were completed during the years 1564 and 1565 at Perugia, S. Sepolcro, Bitonto and Oria;⁴ it was, however, only under Pius V. and Gregory XIII. that these became common.

Morality had become greatly relaxed, even among the clergy, above all in Corsica, owing to the frequent wars. Acting on the reports of the Genoese ambassadors, Pius IV. exhorted the bishops there to take strong action with the help of the secular arm, to which he gave the right of proceeding against the guilty with the punishment of the galleys.⁵

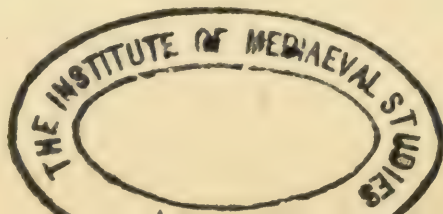
¹ *Brief of Jan. 23, 1561, to G. Vida, Bishop of Alba, for the reform of the secular and regular clergy, Brevia II, n. 13; to the vicar-general of the Bishop of Brescia, on Nov. 3, 1562, to the Cardinal of Trani, on Jan. 27, 1563, for the reform of the secular clergy; *ibid.* n. 306, 319 (Papal Secret Archives).

² GABUTIUS, Vita S. Pii V., c. 3, n. 28 (Acta Sanctorum, May 1, 619, Paris, 1866).

³ Caligari to Commendone, dated Piacenza, March 18, 1562, *Lettere di principi, XXIII., 44. In this letter the joy shown by the old cardinal for the "new life" is very interesting. Cf. the *brief to Cardinal Scotti of Jan. 27, 1563, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. II, n. 319 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ MAZZATINTI, Archivi di Stato, I., 87, 130, 140; II., 23. By the orders of Cardinal E. Gonzaga, the dean, F. Recordato, with Bart. Cavaccio and C. Olivio, visited as early as 1560 "tutti i mobili delle cappelle et altari delle chiese di Mantova" (*document of Dec. 1, 1560, Episcopal Archives, Mantua). A *brief of Nov. 3, 1562 (Brevia, Arm. 44, t. II, n. 306, Papal Secret Archives), gave to the bishop's vicar at Brescia the power to proceed by apostolic authority, with the consent of the bishop, against the guilty; the steps taken by the vicar for the reform of the clergy who were giving scandal were looked upon by the dean of the city as an infringement of his rights.

⁵ *Briefs of May 17, 1560, to the Bishops of Aleria, Ajaccio,



A reform of the religious orders was also set on foot. It was Pius IV. who, on July 17th, 1565, gave St. Teresa leave to found a reformed convent at Avila, thus paving the way to a renewal of the whole Carmelite order.¹ New life also showed itself in the Cistercian order; Louis de Baissey, Abbot of Cîteaux, undertook a visitation of the Cistercian convents in north and middle Italy;² the Pope gave him his assistance in this undertaking by recommending him to the Viceroy of Naples, and the Dukes of Parma, Savoy, Ferrara, Florence, and Modena,³ by increasing the powers of the Abbot of Cîteaux, and granting him privileges against the system of commendams, to which was chiefly to be attributed the degeneracy in monastic life.⁴ In 1563 Louis de Baissey charged Johann von Briedel, Abbot of Hemmerode, to hold a visitation of the convents in the archdioceses of Trêves and Mayence.⁵ Jérôme de la Souchière, the successor of the Abbot-General Louis, held, on May 21st, 1565, a general chapter for the carrying out of the decrees of Trent. Strict regulations were issued upon the enclosure, the restoration of the monastic buildings, and the abolition of the holding of private property by individual monks; it was enacted that heretical persons and writings were to be removed, and the necessary books for the divine worship procured; it was also decided that, in order to restore

Sagona, Accia and Mariana, Brevia, 10, p. 208, n. 164b (Papal Secret Archives).

¹ Reprint of the bull in *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vii., 202 *seq.* Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 61 *seq.* Bull. Carmelit., II., 124 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, Roma, 1718.

² A. POSTINA in *Cistercienser-Chronik*, XIII., 193.

³ *To the viceroy, Brevia Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 386; *to the Dukes of Florence, Ferrara, Parma, and Savoy, March 31, 1564, *ibid.* t. 20, n. 115 (Papal Secret Archives); *to the Duke of Modena, March 31, 1564 (State Archives, Modena). For the Cistercian reform in Tuscany, a *bull of Oct. 31, 1561, in State Archives, Florence, Cisterc.

⁴ POSTINA, *loc. cit.*

⁵ SCHMIEDER in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterzienserorden*, XII. (1891), 84 *seq.* Cf. POSTINA, *loc. cit.*, 225.

monastic discipline, it should be possible to transfer well instructed monks from the better houses to those that were less good. So as to carry these regulations into effect visitors were appointed, namely, the Abbots of Salem and Kaisheim for Bavaria, the Palatinate and Saxony; the Abbots of Hemmerode and Altenberg for the lower and middle Rhineland.¹ As early as 1564, the Dominicans held a general chapter, and discussed the carrying out of the decrees of the Council in their Order, and they received the congratulations of Pius IV. on their work on April 30th, 1564.² The Pope had previously given the General of the Dominicans the task of visiting and reforming the convent at Rieti, saying that he wished for the strict observance of the constitutions of the Order in the sense of the Council of Trent.³ The Franciscan Conventuals also received new constitutions through the care of the Pope.⁴ In the case of the orders of women steps were

¹ POSTINA, *loc. cit.*, 225

² Brevia, 20 n. 164. Papal Secret Archives. RIPOLL, V., 100.

³ On April 24, 1564, *ibid.* n. 142 and RIPOLL, V., 99 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 101 *seq.* brief of Aug. 5, 1565, on the reform of monasteries in the Venetian territory. A brief of July 18, 1561, on the reform of monasteries in Portugal in Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 283. Borromeo to the Duke of Florence on the reform of the Canons Regular of Fiesole, May 5, 1565, in SALA, III., 345.

⁴ Constitution of Sept. 17, 1565, in Bull. Rom., VII., 399 *seq.* Camillo Luzzara wrote to the Duke of Mantua on March 24, 1565: *" Ogni di si fanno congregationi in camera di Borromeo, et quella d'oggi è stata sopra del stringere et unire i fratri conventuali di S. Francesco con quelli d'osservanza, si che siano tutti osservanti " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Arrangements as to the privileges of the Order of St. Lazarus in Bull. Rom., VII., 336 *seq.* (May 4, 1565), on those of the Antoniti, *ibid.* 379 (Aug. 19, 1565). For the reform of the Benedictine Order *ch.* SCHMIEDER, *loc. cit.* 56 *seqq.*; for Abbot Joachim Eichhorn, the "second founder" of the monastery of Einsiedeln, see Allgem. deutsche Biographie, V., 730. For the reform of the Carmelites *see* Bull. Carmelit., II., 124 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, Romae, 1718.

taken to insist on the strict observance of the enclosure ;¹ Pius IV. himself wrote to his two sisters, who were Dominican nuns in a convent at Milan, in order to overcome their dislike for the new regulations.²

The Council of Trent had attached special importance to the holding of diocesan and provincial synods. In 1562, Bishop Girolamo Vida held a synod for reform ;³ diocesan synods followed in 1564 and 1565 at Ravenna, Naples and Como.⁴ During the same years provincial synods were held at Rheims and Cambrai, in order to promulgate the Tridentine decrees. Especially important was the provincial council at Milan, which formed, as it were, the introduction to that great pastoral activity, by which Charles Borromeo has identified his name for all time with the carrying out of the Council of Trent. Although he was kept in Rome by the Pope, Borromeo had never lost sight of his diocese. In order to set on foot there a radical reform, he begged from the Bishop of Verona the services of the celebrated Niccolò Ormaneto, who had been trained under the greatest of the pre-tridentine reforming bishops, Matteo Giberti.⁵ He had accompanied Cardinal Pole to England,⁶ had taken part in the Council of Trent, and was now, as a simple parish priest, in charge of a small con-

¹ POGIANI Epist., IV., 360, n. 44 ; 362, n. 46 ; 366, n. 54, etc. To the nuncio at Naples there was entrusted on Oct. 31, 1560, the *order to reform the convent of Benedictine nuns of S. Marcello (Brevia, 10, p. 278, n. 359, Papal Secret Archives). A *brief of Jan. 23, 1561, to Girolamo Vida, Bishop of Alba, with the charge to reform the convent of St. Martino of Augustinian nuns, and to provide for the residence of the chaplains, *ibid.* Brevia 14, n. 13.

² SYLVAIN, I., 270.

³ Giorn. stor. d. letter. Ital., LVII., 332 *seqq.*

⁴ See Synodus dioec. Rav. A^o 1790, xxvii., Ravenna, 1791. The synod of Como was held from May 16 to 18, 1565. The government forbade the clergy of the Valtellina to attend it. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, G. Fr. Bonhomini, I., lxxviii.

⁵ Cf. Vol. X. of this work, pp. 424-442.

⁶ Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 465 *seq.*

gregation.¹ In the July of 1564 Ormaneto went to Milan and began the moral regeneration of the completely neglected diocese by assembling a diocesan council of 1200 ecclesiastics and promulgating the decrees of the Council of Trent. He was assisted by priests of the school of Giberti, by the Barnabites, and by the governor of Milan, Avalos de Aquino, Marquis of Pescara. Since 1563 two Jesuits had been preparing the way for the coming of Ormaneto.² At first Borromeo had contented himself with having reports sent to him of the more important affairs of his diocese, and consulting upon them with theologians chosen for the purpose.³ At last, however, as the result of his repeated requests that he might be allowed to devote himself entirely to his diocese, he obtained in the autumn of 1565 permission from the Pope to go, at least for a short time, to Milan, and to hold a provincial council there, for the promulgation in due order of the decrees of the Council in his ecclesiastical province. At this assembly, which lasted from October 15th to November 3rd, eleven bishops were present, while others took part in it by means of representatives.⁴

The severe illness of Pius IV. called Borromeo back to Rome ; the death of the Pope set him free from the burden of the Secretaryship of State. From that time forward Borromeo was only a bishop, and as such he became by his pastoral activity a shining example, and by his seven provincial synods, and his eleven diocesan ones, the recognized law-giver of a true ecclesiastical reform in accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent.

¹ BASCAPÈ, 13. SYLVAIN, I., 251 *seq.*

² BASCAPÈ, 13. *Cf.* the two letters of Borromeo of May 29 and June 23, 1566, in S. Franciscus Borgia, IV., 250, 264.

³ BASCAPÈ, 13-15.

⁴ The synodal acta, e.g. in HARDOUIN, *Collectio concil.*, X., 633 *seq.* Borromeo to Sirleto, Oct. 17 and Nov. 3, 1565, in DOM. TACCONE GALLUCCI, *Monografia del Cardinale Gugl. Sirleto*, Rome, 1909 ; *cf.* San Carlo, 136.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS TOWARDS THE TRIDENTINE DECREES.—THE QUESTION OF THE CHALICE FOR THE LAITY AND ECCLESIASTICAL CELIBACY IN GERMANY.

IN view of the close connection between Church and State, the attitude taken up by the civil governments was of the greatest importance to the complete carrying into effect of the disciplinary decrees of Trent. It would have been in the truest interests of the State to have worked hand in hand with the ecclesiastical authority, because the removal of abuses from among the clergy was bound at the same time to be advantageous to the laity, but even where this fact was recognized, the false idea prevailed that many of the prescriptions of the Council infringed upon the legitimate powers of the State, whereas in reality nothing was attacked but those usurpations of ecclesiastical rights which had crept into the relations of Church and State in later medieval times. The difficulties which were bound to result from this began to make themselves shown immediately after the conclusion of the Council.

Among the orators of the secular princes who had been represented at the Council, acceptance of the decrees had been made in writing on December 6th, 1563, by the representatives of the Emperor Ferdinand I., the Kings of Poland and Portugal, the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, the Republic of Venice and the Swiss Catholic Cantons.¹ Thus, the two great Catholic powers, where State interference in ecclesiastical affairs had assumed dangerous proportions, still held back : these were France and Spain.

While the French government continued to offer resistance to any recognition of the disciplinary decrees of Trent, Philip II.

¹ See THEINER, II., 516 ; *cf.* PALLAVICINI, 24, 8.

at last brought himself to accept them, but only with the proviso "without prejudice to his royal rights."¹

In the states of Italy,² in Portugal,³ as well as in Poland⁴ the new ecclesiastical laws were received unconditionally; it was otherwise in Switzerland and Germany.

Apart from the French intrigues, the attitude of Switzerland was based upon the fact that state interference in ecclesiastical affairs had struck such deep roots in that country that there was reason to fear that the carrying out of the reform would put serious obstacles in the way of various claims put forward by the civil power.⁵ Thus it came to pass that, in spite of their protestations of obedience, in spite of a Papal monitorium of February 15th, 1564, and of the zealous labours of Melchior Lussy, their representative at the Council, the Swiss Catholic Cantons were in no hurry to begin to carry out the Tridentine decrees. The requirements of the Church had been clearly set forth by the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Mark Sittich; he asked for the help of the secular power so that priests who were in need of reform might not be able, through their relatives, to secure the protection of the civil authorities against their own bishop.⁶ All the efforts of

¹ For the details see *infra*, Chapters IX and X. For the fate of the decrees in the Netherlands see PIRENNE, IV., 411 *seq.*, 480 *seq.* and also in Volume XVIII. of this work. There is no account of the acceptance of the Council which satisfies the requirements of historical science. The two old works of LE COURAYER in his version of Sarpi (II. [1736], 772 *seq.*) and MIGNOT, *Histoire de la réception du Concile de Trente* (1756), altogether apart from their anti-Roman tendency, which led to their inclusion in the Index (see REUSCH, I., 597), are not sufficient in any sense.

² Cf. *infra*, Chapter IX. As a reward for its acceptance of the Tridentine decrees the Republic of Lucca in 1565 received the Golden Rose; see SARDI in *Rassegna naz.*, CXXXIII. (1903), 42 *seq.*, and FUMI in *Rassegna Lucchese*, II. (1905), 120 *seq.*

³ See *Corpo dipl. Portug.*, X., 173 *seq.*; PALLAVICINI, 24, 9; SCHÄFER, III., 369.

⁴ See *infra*, Chapter V.

⁵ Cf. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., lxxiii. *seq.*

⁶ See *ibid.*, lxix.; cf. lix.-lxii.

Pius IV. to obtain a definite promise from the five Catholic Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug were without result. In the first instance they wished to wait and see what the attitude of the other Catholic powers towards the Council would be ;¹ they next insisted that first of all the prelates, and especially the Cardinal Bishop of Constance, must obey the Council and observe the duty of residence.² Answers such as these were made about the same time as the conclusion of the alliance between the five Cantons and Pius IV. "with the purpose that the ship of Peter, the holy, Roman and Christian Church, and the true, ancient, and undoubted Christian Catholic faith, may be maintained, protected and defended, and the work of the holy, most Christian and most blessed Council of Trent carried into effect."³

The Emperor Ferdinand had, as early as September 20th, 1563, asked from the government of Lower Austria an opinion as to the reform articles of the Council "whether they were not prejudicial to the House of Austria and its legitimate authority, liberties, rights and privileges, to its lands and peoples, and with what arguments and reasons he could oppose them ; the other articles, which did not affect the laity, could be allowed to stand." On the strength of their opinion, Ferdinand did not publish those ordinances of the Council which seemed to encroach on the power of the state.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, xxxix., xli.

² *Ibid.*, lxiii.

³ See the text of the league formed on April 10, 1565, between Pius IV. and the five Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug, in *Schweiz. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1517-19. Cf. SEGESSER, *Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern*, IV. (1858), 371 *seq.* ; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., lxviii. MAYER (*Das Konzil von Trient und die Gegenreformation in der Schweiz* I.) remarks that although this was drawn up only for the lifetime of Pius IV., and came to an end with his death, the pact nevertheless had an importance for the future which must not be overlooked, because "by the solemn recognition of the Council the Catholic Cantons were given a common end, which was clearly recognized as such, and a bond for common action." Cf. DIERAUER, III., 327.

⁴ See WIEDEMANN, I., 241 ; BUCHOLTZ, IX., 705 *seqq.*

Since the work of Catholic reform in Austria, as in the rest of Germany, was at that time only in its initial stage, the decrees of Trent were received, even by the episcopate, with a reluctance which afforded a striking contrast to the eagerness with which, for so long a time, the Council had been demanded in Germany. It is clear from the complaints of Peter Canisius how little zeal the majority of the German bishops showed for the publication and carrying out of the new decrees.¹

At the beginning of November, 1564, the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, had received instructions to send to each of the German bishops printed and attested copies of the Tridentine decrees, together with Papal briefs.² Delfino looked for but little success from the mere sending of the briefs and decrees; he knew that he would hardly receive even a reply from the greater part of the bishops. He therefore proposed to entrust their delivery to a special pontifical envoy, who was to go from one bishop to another, and induce them to accept the Council.³ Delfino entrusted the carrying out of this task to his auditor, Anton Cauchius,⁴ but his mission very soon came

¹ See the letter of Feb. 10, 1565, in CANISIUS Epist., V., 8.

² Borromeo to Delfino, Nov. 4, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 232. As early as March 18 Borromeo sent to Delfino 6, and on June 3, 25 copies of the second edition in order that he might distribute them among distinguished ecclesiastical and civil personages (*ibid.* 73, 135). *Briefs of Oct. 3, 1564, to 15 German bishops concerning the carrying out of the Council, in Brevia, 20, n. 41, Papal Secret Archives, Arm. 44, t. 21, to the Archbishop of Trêves, Oct. 25, 1564, *ibid.* n. 42; Fr. Tonina wrote on Sept. 16, 1564, to the Bishop of Mantua: *"Ha parimente S. Stà mandato un libro del concilio a tutti li vescovi di Germania et voleva anco a tutti li principi, ma il dubitare del modo del legarli et servare li decoro conveniente per ciascuno di loro l'ha fatto risolvere di mandarli in mano al Nuncio là, che faccia come a lui pare. Alla Regina di Enghilterra ni ha mandato uno tutto miniato et benissimo accomodato." (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

³ Delfino to Borromeo, Nov. 23, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 247. Reply of Borromeo, Dec. 9, *ibid.*, 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 274 seq.

to a lamentable end. On the road between Leipsic and Bamberg, Cauchius was attacked near Kahla in Thuringia, his retinue was cut to pieces, and he himself alone escaped with the loss of all his baggage.¹

They now sought in Rome for someone to take the place of Cauchius, and found him in the person of Peter Canisius,² who, on account of the election of the new General of the Jesuits, and the general congregation of the Order, had been in Rome since the end of May. Francis Borgia appointed him visitor of the Jesuit colleges in Upper and Lower Germany, and on the Rhine ; under cover of this mission Canisius would be able to visit the various German bishops without exciting comment. Pius IV. conferred with him in person, and Canisius left the Pope full of admiration for the great kindness and charity with which the pontiff spoke of the apostate Germans, for whose salvation he seemed prepared to make any sacrifice.³ At the beginning of November the new Papal envoy arrived at Dillingen, where he gave Cardinal Truchsess the brief addressed to him ; thence he visited the Bishop of Würzburg at Aschaffenburg, and at Coblenz he met the Archbishops of Mayence and Trêves, travelled down the Rhine to Nimwegen, afterwards visiting from Cologne the Westphalian dioceses. He had a personal interview with the Bishop of Osnabruck at Fürstenau, but contented himself with sending to the untrustworthy Bishop of Münster the copy of the Council's decrees and the Papal brief addressed to him. Nor did he visit in his episcopal city of Paderborn Rembert von Kerssenbrock, who was a zealous Catholic, but already broken down with years. The visit which he paid to Duke William of Cleves-Jülich at Dusseldorf was without results. At Cologne he was not successful in seeing the Archbishop, Friedrich von Weid, but on the other hand was able to work with success in the Catholic interest upon the town-council and the university.

¹ *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

² CANISII Epist., V., 148 *seqq.*, 639 *seqq.* BRAUNSBERGER in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXI., 58 *seqq.*, 164 *seqq.*, 301 *seqq.*

³ Canisius to Hosius, Sept. 17, 1565, in CANISII Epist., V., 96.

As soon as he had learned with certainty of the death of Pius IV., Canisius thought that his mission had expired.¹ In the course of his wearisome winter journey his efforts had not been restricted to the mere delivery of the decrees of the Council. He had special instructions for each of the bishops, he was to advise and encourage them, and above all he was to invite them to attend the Diet which had been summoned to Augsburg, which promised to prove of very great importance for the ecclesiastical situation in Germany, and for the attitude of the German church towards the Council of Trent. Further, he was to send to Rome, to Cardinal Mula, a report based upon his own observations of the state of affairs in the north.²

If Canisius, and others of his way of thinking, looked for the salvation of the Church in Germany in a strict observance of the Tridentine decrees, and at the same time in a renewal of the old ecclesiastical legislation, in other quarters, on the contrary, it was thought that it was only by making concessions, and by meeting the views of the innovators in every possible way, that the remnants of Catholicism in Germany could be saved. In accordance with this view, Charles V., as far back as 1548, had wished in his Interim to concede communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests.³ The proposals of Ferdinand I. to the Council of Trent were upon the same lines. The people, so he stated in his reform libellum of 1562, did not understand very much about the more subtle doctrines of the reformers; the things that impressed them were certain more material points, which in their opinion were based upon the Holy Scriptures, namely, communion under both kinds, the right to eat meat, and the right of priests to marry. Since they thought that on these points the truth lay with the Protestants, they accepted their other doctrines as well without more ado. If, however, these three points should be conceded by the Catholics the people would not be likely to pay much

¹ That he still had mandates, at any rate for the Bishops of Strasbourg, Spire and Worms, see CANISIUS Epist., V., 649.

² BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 63 seq., 319-323.

³ Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 413 seq., 437.

attention to the other Protestant doctrines, which they did not understand. Besides, the only recommendation of the Protestant clergy, who were for the most part men of bad life, and therefore disliked, was that at any rate they lived in wedlock, whereas it was precisely the incontinence of the Catholic ecclesiastics which was unbearable in the eyes of the people.¹

According to Catholic teaching the Eucharist is both sacrifice and sacrament. For the Eucharist in the sacrifice of the Mass the two species are absolutely essential, and therefore, as is self-evident, for the communion of the priest who celebrates Mass. But apart from this case they are not necessary, from the nature of the subject, for the reception of the sacrament, since the glorified Redeemer is present whole and entire under either species, nor can any divine precept of communion under both kinds be adduced.² As a matter of fact, even in the very earliest Christian times, the communion of the laity is to be found under one species as well as under both.³

That the Church would do well if she were once more to

¹ LE PLAT, V., 248. Cf. SICKEL, Konzil, 54, 64 (proposals of 1560).

² Conc. Trid. sess. 21, c.1.

³ The passages from Tertullian, etc., in GRISAR in the *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.*, V. (1881), 698. At a later date the chalice was sometimes granted to eminent laymen as a special mark of honour. Thus Clement VI., on Jan. 5, 1352, granted this privilege to the Dauphin of France (MARTENE-DURAND, *Vet. script. ampliss. collectio*, I., 1456 *seq.* SAUERLAND in *Pastor bonus*, XIV. [1901-02], 128). During his Mass the Pope expressly administered the chalice to distinguished foreigners (Ord. Rom., XV., n. 85, in MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, LXXVIII., 1332. THOM. WALDENSIS, l. 2, c. 88, 149, Venice, 1571. *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Ernold von Harff*, herausg. von E. v. Grote, 34, Cologne, 1860). The very fact that the chalice was looked upon as a special mark of distinction for the laity was used as a powerful means of agitation by the innovators. Cf. JAK. HOFFMANN, *Gesch. der Laienkomunion bis zum Tridentinum*, Spires, 1891; JUL. SMEND, *Kelchspendung und Kelchversagung*, Göttingen, 1898.

allow the universal use of the chalice was the opinion of many persons who were otherwise strictly Catholic, on account of the eager desire of the people for the reception of both species. The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus, was especially, on the strength of his own experience, a keen champion of the concession; in the great plague of 1561, so he stated at Trent, in his capacity of Imperial envoy, out of a hundred dying people hardly one had shown any desire for communion under one kind alone: the people would rather have gone without the sacrament altogether than do without the chalice.¹ Ferdinand I. had forbidden (February 20th, 1554) the use of both species,² but the insistence of the States had been so great that he had withdrawn the prohibition in 1556³ and, under the influence of his advisers, had thrown himself more and more into the arms of those who wished for the chalice.

He found a powerful ally in Albert V., Duke of Bavaria. In the beginning Albert, too, had firmly refused the request for the chalice made by his States,⁴ but the concession made by the Emperor Ferdinand in 1556 had caused him, on March 31st of that year, to proclaim that communion under both kinds would not be visited with any penalties.⁵ The idea then gradually took a firmer hold on his mind that "for the preservation of our other Catholic doctrines and rites" it would be necessary "to show a sympathetic comprehension and indulgence;"⁶ his request that the bishops would at any rate tolerate the administration of the chalice to the laity was not, however, granted by the two meetings of the bishops

¹ WIEDEMANN, I., 235. Analogous matters in KNÖPFER, *Kelchbewegung*, 74. For the views of Archbishop Brus, *cf.* his memorial on the ordination of Utraquist priests in Bohemia in the year 1563, edited by STEINHERZ in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XLV. (1907), 162-177.

² WIEDEMANN, I., 293.

³ WIEDEMANN, I., 298.

⁴ KNÖPFER, *loc. cit.*, 6.

⁵ KNÖPFER, 21 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 345. The Duke of Cleves also asked for the chalice in 1556 (*ibid.*).

⁶ KNÖPFER, 28.

at Salzburg in 1558 and 1562.¹ Therefore, like the Emperor Ferdinand, Albert also had recourse to the Council at Trent, where the Bavarian envoy, Augustine Paumgartner, on June 27th, 1562, declared in a solemn speech that the granting of the two species was necessary, together with some modification of the law of celibacy.² His proposal, as far as the chalice was concerned, found support from the Imperial envoys, who declared that by this concession they might be able to win over the whole of Bohemia to the Church, while in Hungary, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Bavaria, Swabia, and many other parts of Germany there was a strong desire for the chalice.³ If only the fathers of the Council had a closer acquaintance with the state of affairs in Germany, their doubts would disappear.⁴

But others who were well acquainted with conditions in Germany were of quite another opinion on the matter. Cardinal Otto Truchsess wrote on March 21st, 1562, to Charles Borromeo that he thought a plain refusal of the Bavarian demands was the only course to adopt, and that to entertain their request would do more harm than good.⁵ From Trent Hosius, on March 31st, 1563, advised the Duke of Bavaria to act differently,⁶ and for the most part the efforts of Ferdinand and Albert to obtain the concession of the chalice met with very little support from the German bishops. At first Peter Canisius had been of opinion that under certain circumstances communion under both kinds might be allowed to persons who in other respects were fervent Catholics,⁷ but

¹ *Ibid.*, 32 seq.; 94.

² KNÖPFLER, 102. LE PLAT, V., 335-344. Cf. RIEZLER, IV., 512 seq.

³ Declaration of the Imperial envoys on June 27, 1562, nn. 9 and 17, in LE PLAT, V., 347 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ EHSES in Rom. Quartalschrift, Supplementheft XX. (1913), 139. CANISIUS Epist., IV., 619.

⁶ KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, Aktenstücke 78-84. For the opinion of Hosius cf. RAYNALDUS, 1558, n. 17.

⁷ CANISIUS Epist., III., 749.

later on he strongly advised against any attempts to help the cause of the Church by any compromise with the innovators. Among the thousands who asked for the chalice there was scarcely one who in all other respects was a loyal son of the Church.¹

Even before Paumgartner's speech the Catholic teaching concerning the two species had been discussed in the Council,² but, to the great disgust of the Imperial envoys,³ at the next solemn session on July 16th, 1562, only dogmatic decrees were dealt with, the disciplinary side of the question, and therefore the Emperor's request, being reserved for further consideration. The discussions were very heated, and opinions very divided. The Pope, who, even during the conclave had expressed himself on the subject,⁴ intended to meet the Emperor's wishes as far as possible.⁵ The Papal legates worked in the same sense, while the Imperial envoys did all they could to secure the success of their master's wishes. These same envoys declared that no subject had been dealt with at the Council with greater heat and excitement.⁶ The legates also wrote to the Pope that in none of the discussions of the Council had there been a greater diversity of opinion, or had more time been spent with so little result ; the secretary had not ventured to set out the votes in definite lists,⁷ for, in

¹ To Hosius, April 21, 1563, in CANISII Epist., IV., 151. Full opinion on the question, *ibid.*, 623-632.

² Cf. GRISAR in Zeitschr. für kathol. Theol., V. (1881), 672-720 ; VI. (1882), 39-112. *Ibid.* the speech of Lainez on Sept. 6, 1562, which very clearly sets forth the negative view on the matter. Much new material, especially with regard to the original votes, in EHSES, VIII., 788-909, 942-954.

³ ŠUSTA, II., 221 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 33.

⁵ Pius IV. to the legates, July 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 270 ; *cf. ibid.* 282, 284, 289, 291. STEINHERZ, III., 113.

⁶ Letter to the Emperor of Sept. 18, 1562, in LE PLAT, V., 504.

⁷ To Borromeo, Sept. 7, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 347. The estimates of Massarelli (THEINER, II., 115) and Paumgartner (KNÖPFLER, 106) differ very widely from each other.

the case of many of the fathers it was not known whether they had said Yes or No.¹ At length, at the solemn session of September 17th, the whole matter was referred to the decision of the Pope.²

Albert V. thought that the time had now come to make representations in Rome, by means of an embassy, on behalf of the chalice for the laity, and for the admission to the ministry of the Church of married men of proved merit. The Pope received his envoys in a friendly spirit at several audiences, but finally declared that he intended to refer the whole matter back to the Council. Without, therefore, having obtained anything, the envoys set out on May 1st, 1563, for their own country,³ where, in the meantime, Albert had allowed a further important concession to be wrung from him. At the diet of Ingolstadt he promised the states that if, by St. John's Day, no reply or a negative reply had come from Rome, he "would take steps to secure" the use of the chalice "during Mass, and after confession, and without giving scandal to others."⁴ The demand for the chalice, he afterwards declared to the Archbishop of Salzburg, had been so violent, that he could not have avoided complying with it, except by sentence of banishment. Such a penalty was plainly out of the question, because, on account of the great number of those who demanded the concession, it would have occasioned a rising even greater and more serious than the Peasants' War.⁵

The news of Albert's concession caused consternation in Rome and Trent ;⁶ it was already feared that now the Duke of Bavaria as well would go over to the side of the innovators, and would take with him the whole of southern Germany.

¹ To Borromeo, Sept. 10, 1562, in *SUSTA*, II., 353.

² Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 296.

³ KNÖPFLER, 106-113. On the question of the chalice in Bavaria cf. RIEZLER, IV., 515 *seq.* ; GOETZ-THEOBALD, *Beiträge*, 72 *seqq.*

⁴ KNÖPFLER, 115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-135.

By command of the Pope, Niccolò Ormaneto, who was also accredited and commissioned for the purpose at Trent by the president of the Council, was ordered to set out at once for Munich;¹ Hosius and the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, also addressed strong exhortations to the Duke.² Albert assured them that he was not wavering in his loyalty to the ancient Church, but he nevertheless continued his efforts to obtain the chalice for the laity.³ In the meantime the Archbishop of Salzburg referred the matter to a meeting of the bishops, which indeed assembled at Salzburg on July 5th, 1563, but the meeting declared its intention of waiting for the outcome of the conference convoked by Ferdinand for July 15th, 1563.

The Emperor Ferdinand had not, after the decision of the Council on September 17th, 1562, given up his efforts to obtain the use of the chalice. It was his object to win over to a similar course of action the three ecclesiastical Electors, so that he might be able to put forward his requests in the name of all Catholic Germany. He had already, in the October of 1562, and at the electoral diet of Frankfort, taken some steps in that direction;⁴ a short time before he had asked the Jesuits at Vienna and Prague, and Canisius, Staphylus and Gienger, for their opinions on the question whether he ought to ask the Pope for the use of the chalice, and in what form he should put his request.⁵ After this, on December 27th, he sent from Freiburg a letter to the ecclesiastical Electors, asking them to send to Vienna, after his return to the court, learned counsellors to treat of the question of the

¹ Brief of May 19, 1563, to the Duke, with recommendation of Ormaneto, in ARETIN, I., Urkunden, II., 6.

² Letter of the president of the Council, of May 30, 1563, in KNÖPFLER, 117; *cf.* Calini, May 31, 1563, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 313. Letter of Hosius, of May 31, in ARETIN, Aktenstücke, 78 *seqq.*; of Delfino, of June 7, *ibid.* 7.

³ *Cf.* ARETIN, *loc. cit.* 8 *seqq.*; reply to the Pope of June 15, 1563, *ibid.*, 16.

⁴ SICKEL, Konzil, 577.

⁵ SAFTIEN, 15-25. CANISII Epist., III., 449-513.

concession of the chalice, and concerning the modification of the law of celibacy.¹

The proposed conference, at which delegates from Salzburg and Bavaria were present, took place at the end of July, 1563, but its results were not very satisfactory for the Emperor. Of the four archbishops, only one, the Elector of Trêves, declared himself in agreement with the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria on the question of the chalice ;² if, at the end, in his farewell address,³ Ferdinand was able to state that the majority of the assembly had been in favour of communion under both kinds, this bare majority had been secured only because the representative of Salzburg had not brought with him the right to vote, and in consequence the meeting only consisted of five voters. The Imperial proposals concerning the marriage of priests had met with opposition from all four archbishops.

Ferdinand, however, did not altogether give up hope of still winning over the Electors to his plans.⁴ When the end of the Council was seen to be imminent, he once more, on November 5th, renewed his invitation to them to take part in the solemn embassy, by which he aimed at obtaining in Rome the use of the chalice for the laity, a dispensation for married clerics, and admission to the ministry of the Church of married laymen ; the Electors, however, declared that they wished first to learn the views of their suffragans.⁵ Then the Emperor resolved to proceed without them.

Deserted by the German bishops, the Emperor found an unexpected ally in the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino. At the beginning of October, 1563, when they were working in Rome

¹ Extract in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 660 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 663-671 *seq.*

³ Of Aug. 5, 1563, in SICKEL, Konzil, 576. On the conduct of the Bavarian envoys *cf.* L. PFLEGER, Martin Eisengrein, 1535-78, 31 *seqq.* Freiburg, 1908 ; the same in the Hist.-pol. Blätter, CXXXII., 55 *seq.*

⁴ Farewell speech of Aug. 5, 1563, *loc. cit.*, and letter to the Electors of Aug. 14, 1563, in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 671.

⁵ Their replies in BUCHOLTZ, VIII., 676-9.

for the longed-for conclusion of the Council, Delfino had been able to win over the Emperor to this by pointing out to him that even after the Council was ended it would not be difficult for him to obtain from the Pope the concessions of the chalice and the marriage of priests which he so greatly desired.¹ He appealed to promises supposed to have been made by Cardinal Morone in the July of that year.² As a matter of fact there had been no question of promises, but only of certain proposals, which the Emperor had refused, and in these proposals there had been no mention, at any rate expressly, of any mitigation of the law of celibacy. The postscript of the Imperial letter of October 4th, which gave instructions to the envoys at Trent not to oppose the conclusion of the Council³, had been drafted by Delfino himself.⁴ From his pen had also come the draft of the letter in accordance with which the Imperial envoys in Rome were to express to the Pope the expectation that he would abide by the "promises" of Morone.⁵ In his reports to Rome, however, the nuncio carefully concealed the advice he had given to the Emperor.

The embassy which Ferdinand I. proposed to send to Rome immediately after the close of the Council in January, 1564, did not meet with the approval of Delfino. The nuncio pointed out that the Emperor would do better to express his wishes to the Pope in writing. A solemn embassy, which would have to set forth its demands in public consistory, and give all sorts of reasons, would cause a sensation; the Pope would have to ask the advice of the College of Cardinals, there would be long discussions, in which not only the Cardinals would have to be heard, but also theologians like the Jesuits and "other learned men who were equally scrupulous and rigid" and the Cardinals and theologians were for the most part opposed to the concession of the chalice and to the mar-

¹ STEINHERZ, III., 440 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 380 *seqq.*, 452; IV. 43.

³ RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 207.

⁴ STEINHERZ, III., 450.

⁵ SICKEL, Konzil, 629.

riage of priests.¹ The Emperor allowed himself to be persuaded all the more easily because he naturally thought that the nuncio was acting under the secret instructions of the Pope. Albert V. as well at once agreed to this course.²

On February 14th, 1564, the necessary letters were drawn up to the Imperial envoys in Rome,³ to Cardinal Morone and to the Pope.⁴ Albert V. had already on February 5th identified himself with the Emperor's wishes in letters to Cardinals Morone and Borromeo and to his ambassador, Arco.⁵ In his letter to the Pope Ferdinand states that it was his zeal for the Church which had led him to ask the Council for the use of the chalice, and not any wish for temporal advantage, or because he personally was scandalized at the custom hitherto in use, but because, by the concession of the chalice, the conversion of many who had fallen or wandered away would be made possible, and the way prepared for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity. He had therefore continued his negotiations with the prelates and ministers of the Church, as well as with Duke Albert, and these had approved of the aims of the princes, and had promised to carry out whatever the Pope should decide upon. Relying upon the hints of Morone and Borromeo, and on the statements of Delfino, he now submitted in his own name and that of Duke Albert his request that the Pope would come to the assistance of the German nation, a thing which, in the opinion of many well-informed Catholics, could be accomplished by means of the concession of the chalice; the incalculable advantage of this must be manifest to everyone. After careful consideration with pious and learned men, well acquainted with conditions in Germany, he called attention to the fact that, in order to

¹ Ferdinand to Maximilian, Jan. 27, 1564, in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissensch.* I., fasc. 5 (1848), 29 *seqq.* Cf. CANISII *Epist.*, IV., 450.

² Letter of Feb. 5, 1564, printed in SAFTIEN, 77 *seqq.*

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 36 *seqq.* Cf. *Zeitschr. des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XXXIII., 141 *seqq.*

⁴ RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 29 *seq.*

⁵ In SAFTIEN, 78 *seq.*

save the small remnants of the Catholic religion and to stamp out heresy it would be a great help to leave their wives to the married priests, and where there was a lack of priests to admit suitable laymen to the service of the altar and to the administration of the sacraments. This he asked in his own name and that of Duke Albert. In a postscript the Emperor expressed his complete confidence that his wishes would be granted without delay. The letter to Morone especially recommended the question of the marriage of priests, as communion under both kinds would certainly not offer any difficulties. In the instructions to the Imperial envoys were given the names of the bishops to whom Ferdinand desired that the faculty to allow the chalice should be given: these were the Archbishops of Mayence, Trêves, Cologne, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Bremen, Gran, and Prague, and the Bishops of Naumburg and Gurk.¹

The unprincipled nuncio had gone so far in his obsequiousness to the Emperor as to have himself drafted all three letters!² It is no wonder that, after many other proofs of his devotion, Delfino should have been successful, thanks to the Emperor's intervention, in attaining his eagerly desired aim, the Cardinal's hat, though, on the other hand, it explains why this and similar happenings led the Pope to issue his severe decree of May 18th, 1565, against the servility of the nuncios.³ The reports which Delfino sent to Borromeo at the same time as the dispatch of the Imperial letters, are expressed as though he were a mere observer and chronicler of what was happening. Certain points, however, are cleverly brought out. "I am informed," so we read in one of these reports, "that the people are so incensed against the clergy on account of the refusal of the chalice that it is feared that at the death of the Emperor all Catholics will be banished,"⁴ he hints that if it is not decided to allow communion under both kinds, it is

¹ STEINHERZ, IV., 39.

² *Ibid.*, 40, 47.

³ Bull. Rom., VII., 369.

⁴ STEINHERZ, IV., 30, 33.

possible that Ferdinand and Albert will seek for a way out of the difficulty for themselves.¹

Until March 15th Ferdinand hoped for a favourable reply,² but in spite of his earlier promises the Pope could not come to a decision so quickly. In the consistory of March 1st he spoke about the Emperor's requests : every day, he said, a number of Catholics were passing over to the heretics from a desire for the chalice, the granting of which, in the opinion of Ferdinand, was the only way to stop the apostasy. The state of the world showed a sad picture indeed, heresy was in the ascendancy everywhere ; only Spain and Italy had kept themselves free of it, and these only partially, as could be seen in Venice and Naples. He was therefore of opinion that they should not reject the Emperor's proposals without further thought ; on the other hand it seemed hard to break away from the ancient custom of the Church, especially as the successful issue of the concessions was not certain. In accordance with the advice of the Cardinals he would now commit the consideration of the whole matter to a commission of their body. In days gone by it would have been possible to ignore such demands, but now the number of the heretics had increased to such an extent that only a tenth part of all Christians were Catholics.³

From the whole tone of this speech it is clear that Pius IV. was not averse to the concession of the chalice ; as the Spanish ambassador states,⁴ he said in a public consistory that he had already promised the chalice in order to end the Council, but that opinion in the College of Cardinals was not favourable to the wishes of the Emperor. Besides this the Spanish ambassador, Luis de Requesens, spared no pains in working against them ; on March 7th, the day before the decisive consistory, he visited between twelve and fifteen Cardinals in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

² *Ibid.*, 38.

³ *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 269-272 (Corsini Library, Rome).

⁴ To Philip II., March 4, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 555.

endeavour to prejudice them against the concession of the chalice by hinting at the scandal which would be taken by the whole Catholic world if the Pope were to yield, by pointing to the aversion which was felt even by the German ecclesiastical princes, who merely did not say plainly what they thought about it, and to the general danger of a policy of compromise ; he reminded them of the disastrous experiences they had had with the Greeks and Bohemians, and of the treachery of the heretics, who were asking for the chalice from any motives rather than those of piety. One concession would open the way to others ; what was granted to Bavaria and Bohemia could not be refused to other Catholics. At least they must not come to a decision hastily, and the whole question must be well weighed by learned men. On the whole Requesens found the opinion of the Cardinals so averse to the concession that three-fourths of them would have been opposed to the Pope if he had openly laid the matter before them in the consistory.¹

As a matter of fact the Pope gave up the idea of proposing the question of the chalice for immediate solution. For the time being he only proposed to send to Germany a legate with very wide powers. Morone was chosen for this task, though he, for his part, tried by every means in his power to escape this thankless task.²

Under these circumstances, it was only to be expected that, at the decisive consistory of March 8th, the opposing views would be hotly debated. The Pope, however, thought that he would be able to prevent this. At the commencement of the consistory he caused the three nephews of Paul III. and ten other Cardinals who had not taken part in the secret sessions of the preceding days,³ to take their places near the

¹ Requesens to Philip II., March 12, 1564, *ibid.*, 556 seq. Cf. Arco to the Emperor, March 12, 1564, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 718.

² Requesens to Philip II., March 4, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 555.

³ Detailed report of the consistory in *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 277—289 (Corsini Library, Rome). Cf. LAEMMER, Melet., 214-217 ; *Averardo Serristori to the Duke

throne, saying to them that he had decided to send Cardinal Morone to Germany, in order that he might work for the carrying out of the Council of Trent, and attempt, in the approaching Diet, to win over to the Catholic cause one or more of the Protestant princes. As to the question of the chalice and the Emperor's demands, he said not a word.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese then began to speak. It was not wise, in his opinion, to send a legate to Germany. Similar missions had always turned out disastrously for the Apostolic See; the presence of a legate at the Diet would lead to religious discussions, and this was dangerous, because the Protestants were in a majority there. Therefore even Paul III., who at the beginning of his pontificate had sent many legates to Germany, had afterwards abandoned this policy. To the remark of the Pope that the present times were very different from those of Paul III., Farnese replied that it was just because the present times were so much worse that it was especially unwise to send a legate. Even if he were armed with the power to grant all the things asked for by the Emperor, much harm would result from this. Thereupon Farnese began to set forth the arguments against the concession of the chalice.

But the Pope cut him short; that subject was not under discussion at present; the legate was being sent for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council; as to the Emperor's demands, he himself, the Pope, would decide as God should inspire him. The decision belonged to him as Pope, and it had been left in his hands by the Council: "We, not you," he added passionately, "have to render an account to God in this matter." At these words the Cardinals who were standing near the throne made it plain by signs that they very willingly left the whole responsibility to him.

Farnese raised no further objections,¹ but his brother

of Florence, March 11, 1563 (Florentine style). (State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3283, p. 248 *seq.*). Cf. Arco to the Emperor, March 12, 1564, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 717 *seq.*

¹ * "Così Farnese si ristinse nelle spalle et se ne tornò a sedere." Serristori, *loc. cit.*

Ranuccio at once returned to the burning question. He had heard, he said, from respected and trustworthy men, that not a few of the Catholic bishops of Germany, and among them two of the Electors, had worked at the Council to induce the fathers to resist the concession of the chalice, on the ground that it would be a mortal blow to the Catholic religion in Germany. The Pope replied that he also had heard the same thing, but that changed times called for new measures, and he would obtain further information from Germany itself. Many of the Council, moreover, had changed their opinion, and in the end several of the Spaniards had declared themselves in favour of the concession. "With regard to that," Ranuccio replied, "I have heard just the opposite," and when Pius IV. appealed to the legates of the Council as his authority, the Cardinal answered that he was quite aware of what the legates said, but he noticed that many prelates of all the various nations gave quite another report on that very point, and had promised to furnish proofs to the Pope himself. Pius put an end to the discussion by remarking that he intended to trust his legates.

Then the Pope began a long speech. He said: "Now that the Council is happily ended, our most important task is to see that it is carried into effect. I therefore intend to send legates to all the princes, first of all to Germany, then to France, and finally to Spain. The Emperor, who is so full of good intentions, is seriously ill and near to death; we must therefore seize upon the opportunity to deal with a prince who is so well disposed and so deeply religious. As legate for Germany I have appointed Morone, in whose prudence and acceptability to the princes I have full confidence. I have arrived at this decision in secret consistory, because it has not been possible to treat of the whole matter in public; my predecessors acted in the same way. Paul III. often said that nobody but a heretic could deny that the Pope has the right to decide all questions himself. In order to keep Catholics in the Church and to bring back heretics to the fold, I am prepared to make any concessions which do not involve injury to the faith, to religion and the honour of God. The present

times, indeed, are worse than they were under Paul III. and Julius III., when France was altogether free from heresy, Germany contained more Catholics, Spain was united to Germany, and England under the rule of a Catholic queen. But the difficulties do not dismay me ; my predecessors were not able to bring the Council to an end, but I have succeeded in doing so. Everything that has not been done before is not necessarily to be rejected for that reason. I intend to meet the heretics in a spirit of gentleness ; if they act hypocritically they will deceive themselves, but not God." Turning to Morone, he begged him to accept the burden imposed on him for the honour of God and the salvation of Christendom.

Morone replied that it was his duty to be silent and to obey. As to the prospects of his legation he believed that the Pope, in virtue of his higher enlightenment, could see things which others could not see, and that a happy issue was possible. The difficulties, however, were so great that he almost despaired of being able to accomplish anything. He gave expression to this opinion now because men were wont to form their judgment after the event. But as far as he was concerned he would spare no pains to do what the Pope required of him.

Pius IV. replied with a few words of encouragement. If not all, at least some might be brought back to the old religion. The Elector of Brandenburg, for example, wore the crucifix which the Pope had sent to him, he had treated the Papal nuncios with courtesy, he had accepted a pontifical brief, and had blamed those who rejected them ; nor was it necessary to despair altogether of Duke Augustus of Saxony. The situation in Germany had changed for the better at any rate in so far that the heretics were no longer united, but broken up into many sects.

Morone then had to leave the consistory, and the Cardinals voted upon the question whether Morone should go as legate to Germany for the carrying out of the Council. No opposition was raised, though several took the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the demands of the Emperor.

At the end of his report of this consistory Cardinal Gambara

states that he has written it all down thus minutely in order that later on the opinion of the Cardinals as to Morone's legation might be known. If the Pope had submitted the Emperor's demands for discussion, they would certainly not have agreed to them. He concludes with the somewhat malicious remark that the Pope, who was unable to use his right arm on account of a bad attack of gout, had given his blessing to the new legate with his left hand.

However interesting the consistory may be as giving a picture of the feeling at the time, it had nevertheless very little importance as far as the course of events was concerned. The mission of Morone never took place; the Emperor's advisers had become sufficiently aware of his diplomatic skill during the course of the negotiations at Innsbruck in the previous year, and they at once decided that he must at all costs be kept away from Austria: "this Roman craftsman with his keen and penetrating shafts, who was so subtle and wonderfully trained *ex longo rerum usu*."¹ They realized that they were no match for him,² and they also feared the effect of long negotiations upon the life of the sick Emperor. In the evening of the very day on which, early in the morning, news had come of Morone's mission, Ferdinand told the nuncio Delfino that the Protestant princes feared lest the Pope should form a Catholic league for the carrying out of the Council. The arrival of a legate might furnish them with a pretext for forming a counter-league of their own, to which course they would undoubtedly be urged by Elizabeth of England and by France, and the consequence of which would be the complete destruction of the Catholic religion in Germany.³ An Imperial letter to Arco⁴ on the 26th, and another from Delfino

¹ Zasius to the Archduke Ferdinand, March 23, 1564, in HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, 93. Cf. STEINHERZ, IV., 82.

² "Non habemus homines, qui cum eo tractent" wrote Seld, in STEINHERZ, *loc. cit.* "Moronus adducet multos et magnos theologos, quibus non habemus nos quos opponeremus." SELD, *ibid.*

³ Delfino to Borromeo, March 27, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 78; cf. 79, 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

on March 27th,¹ conveyed this intelligence to Rome. Borromeo replied to the nuncio in Venice on April 19th,² that Morone's mission would not take place, that the Pope had already granted the chalice to the laity, but that as far as the marriage of priests was concerned Pius IV. had never made any promises on the subject; in the meantime the Emperor was requested to submit his proposals more definitely.

It was true that, under the date of April 16th, the Pope had caused briefs for the more important bishops of Germany to be prepared, containing the concession of the chalice.³ This, however, was not granted unconditionally nor universally. In the introduction of the briefs mention is made of the assurances made by Ferdinand and Albert that the remnants of the Catholic religion in Germany would disappear altogether if the chalice were not allowed. If the bishop to whom the brief was addressed could conscientiously say that this was really the case, then the Pope gave him power to appoint certain priests to give communion under both kinds. On the part of the communicants it was taken for granted that they were in communion with the Roman Church, that they had been to confession, and they must believe that the same is contained under one species as under two, and that the Roman Church was not in error in giving the Holy Eucharist under one kind alone. The concession was not to apply to the non-German parts of the German dioceses. At the same time the bishops were given the important power of reconciling, either in person or by their delegates, heretics who either publicly or in private had abjured their errors.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 76 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 94.

³ The brief for Julius Pflugk of Naumburg in CYPRIANUS, I *seqq.*, Pogiani Epist., III., 161; for Nicolaus Olah of Gran in STEPH. KATONA, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Austriacae*, IV., 811 *seq.* Buda, 1799; for Urban of Gurk in Vierteljahrsschrift für kath. Theologie, VI. (1877), 88 *seqq.* Copies of the other briefs in KNÖPFLER, 138, n. 3.

⁴ As to the importance of this faculty see MERGENTHEIM, *Die Quinquennalfakultäten*, I., 87.

For the moment the Pope kept these briefs a secret ; in the consistory of April 14th he let nothing transpire about them. The excitement which had been aroused by the attitude of the Pope towards the concession of the chalice had by no means died down, and during the weeks that had elapsed the Spanish ambassador had caused a theologian to draw up a memorial against the concession which had been circulated among the Roman prelates.¹ Even in Germany the Pope's willingness to give way on the matter had caused as much surprise as though Pius IV. had become a Lutheran. Canisius, who reported what was being said to Rome, was himself of opinion that the concession of the chalice would throw the remainder of the German Church into hopeless confusion ; the conditions made in Rome would not be observed, nor, despite the concession, would the authority of the Church or the Pope be recognized.² Even when the pontifical briefs had arrived, jokes were current on the subject because the permanent agent in the provinces for the granting of the chalice and for the Confession of Augsburg bore the family name of Teufel (devil) and because on the day that the briefs arrived a frost had almost destroyed the whole of the grape vintage in the district of Vienna.³

On May 9th the Papal briefs to the three ecclesiastical Electors, to the Archbishops of Salzburg, Prague, Gran, Magdeburg and Bremen, and to the Bishops of Naumburg and Gurk were in the hands of Delfino. The nuncio proposed to publish the pontifical concession at first only in Upper and Lower Austria and in Bavaria.⁴ His suggestion was accepted and a beginning was made of the work of promulgation on June 18th, at Vienna, when Urban, Bishop of Gurk, and administra-

¹ Printed in SICKEL, *Konzil*, 377, who wrongly places it in the series for September, 1562 ; cf. STEINHERZ, IV., 97, who is the first to give it its right date.

² To Lainez, March 25, 1564, in CANISIUS *Epist.*, IV., 480. The letter was presented to the Pope : *ibid.*, 490.

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 125 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 119 *seqq.*

tor of the diocese of Vienna, read and explained the brief in the Cathedral of St. Stephen.¹

The success of the promulgation seemed at first to surpass even the most sanguine hopes. As Delfino wrote to Rome, at Vienna two-thirds of the Lutherans and others suspected of heresy declared themselves to be Catholics.² There is no doubt, he again wrote on November 20th, 1564,³ that in Vienna and the small diocese of Vienna the concession of the chalice is having a beneficial effect ; every day the number of those who assist at the sermons and divine offices is increasing. After so encouraging a beginning the briefs addressed to them were sent to the other ecclesiastical provinces in June, while similar concessions were asked for, and immediately granted by the Pope for the dioceses of Olmutz, Breslau, Weiner-Neustadt and Laibach.⁴ Anton Brus boasted, when he received his brief, that the kingdom of Bohemia was restored to life ; the Archbishop of Gran also looked for great

¹ For the discussions as to the way in which the brief was to be carried into effect, *cf.* WIEDEMANN, I., 311 *seq.* For the information obtained as to the administration of the two species in the Greek Church, see SAFTIEN, 84 *seq.*, and the letter of Ferdinand I. of May 17, 1564, to his envoy in Venice, in *Beiträge zur Kunde steiermarkischer Geschichtsquellen*, IX. (1872), 115.

² *Acta consist.* in RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 35.

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 244.

⁴ STEINHERZ, IV., 140, 167. A fresh brief was also drawn up at that time for the Bishop of Gurk in his capacity of administrator of Vienna. The brief for Breslau is printed in KASTNER, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Bistums Breslau*, I. (1858), 262 *seq.* ; *cf.* J. JUNGNIETZ, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, Archidiakonat Breslau, Part I., 20, Breslau, 1902. The concession of the chalice for that part of Styria which was in the patriarchate of Aquileia was asked for in July, 1564, but was only granted on Sept. 24, 1565 (STEINHERZ, IV., 166, 169, 391). Printed edition of the brief in *Pogiani Epist.*, III., 162 *seq.*, and in *Beiträgen zur Kunde steiermarkischer Geschichtsquellen*, IX. (1872), 115 *seq.* The brief for Magdeburg was sent back to Rome without having been used (STEINHERZ, IV., 139), that for Bremen followed (CANISII *Epist.*, IV., 575).

fruit for the Catholic religion in Hungary from the concession of the chalice.¹

It was with great satisfaction that the Pope was able on July 14th, 1564, to give the Cardinals the first official notification of the concession of the chalice which he had made some time before. The Emperor, he said, had represented to him that without some such concession Germany would become, not merely heretical, but pagan. It had not been in public, but quite in secret, that he had held consultations on the subject with certain Cardinals and former members of the Council, and he had done this in order that the expression of opinions might be more free, for he knew well with how many artifices and threats the concession of the chalice would be opposed. He attached great importance to the opinion of the Emperor, who at that moment was lying on his death-bed, and who was animated with a feeling for religion which could not have been more pure or supernatural in a monk or a Jesuit.² For Ferdinand I., indeed, the Papal concession was a great consolation in his last illness. On May 17th, he had a letter written to Rome, in which he said that no Papal utterance had ever given him such joy as the brief about the chalice.³ He died on July 25th, 1564, with the consciousness that he had rendered a last great service to that ecclesiastical unity which he had always aimed at so zealously.

But it was not everywhere that the brief about the chalice was received with enthusiasm. At Cologne, the strong attitude taken by the University prevented the archbishop from carrying the concession into effect, though he was himself in favour of it; the University caused to be drawn up and gave

¹ Delfino to Borromeo, July 13, 1564, in STEINHERZ, IV., 155. Anton Brus published the brief about the chalice on July 23, 1564. FRIND 7, and doc. 17.

² *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, on July 14, 1564, Rome, 40-G-13, p. 333 *seqq.* (Corsini Library). That the brief about the chalice was up to this time not known in Rome is clear from the fact that Lainez, on June 24, asked for a copy from Canisius. CANISII Epist., IV., 573.

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 123.

its sanction to a memorandum written by the Jesuit Coster, against the two species, and obliged all its theologians to accept it.¹ At Trêves the municipal council demanded from everyone a certificate from their parochial authorities that they had communicated under one kind alone.² At Mayence too the concession of the chalice had no tangible results.³ It was only after long negotiations that the Archbishop of Salzburg agreed to the Imperial wishes, and even then the meeting of the bishops of the province of Salzburg limited in every possible way the administration of the chalice.⁴ In the immediate neighbourhood of Vienna the distinguished Christian Naponäus Radiducius, Bishop of Weiner-Neustadt, at length, it is true, published the Papal indult, but in practice refused to administer the two species.⁵ The Jesuits in Vienna were bound to allow the publication in their church of the brief about the chalice, but they insisted so strictly on the conditions laid down by the Pope that at first there were none, and afterwards very few, who received the two species at their hands.⁶

For the most part the enthusiasm among the Catholics for the communion of the laity under both kinds disappeared. It is true that its defenders, in the face of all the arguments of the theologians, had appealed to their knowledge of conditions in Germany,⁷ but the event tended to justify the

¹ HANSEN, 494. CYPRIANUS, 376. CANISII Epist., IV., 694. .

² HANSEN, 496.

³ SERARIUS-IOANNIS, *Rerum Maguntiacarum*, I., 873, Frankfurt, 1722.

⁴ STEINHERZ, IV., 156, 169, 175, 182. Report of Joh. Pfister, Aug. 25, 1564, in CANISII Epist., IV., 619 *seqq.* Cf. WIEDEMANN, I., 313 *seq.*; KNÖPFLER, 138-148.

⁵ WIEDEMANN, I., 313.

⁶ CANISII Epist., IV., 633-635. NADAL, Epist., IV., 289. DUHR, I., 447 *seqq.*

⁷ So said Seld, according to the report of Delfino: "esser di bisogno udire li pratici delle cose . . . in Roma si grida pro reductione et si parla del fine, ma quanto alli mezzi o non si sanno o non si vogliono sapere" (STEINHERZ, IV., 32). On the other hand, Otto Truchsess, after the arrival of the concession of the chalice, deplores "quod sua Sanctitas non habuerit

wisdom of those who, equally relying on their own experience, looked for nothing but confusion and harm from any rapprochement with the innovators. As early as 1565 Draskovich said to Commendone that he repented of having worked with so much zeal for the chalice for the laity in his capacity as Imperial envoy at the Council of Trent, because the concession, when it had at last been obtained, had brought about nothing but harm.¹ Commendone wrote to Cardinal Borromeo from Petrikau² that experience in the districts bordering on Poland showed that the concession had done more harm than good; the conditions laid down by the Pope had not been observed, and the consequences had been scandal and confusion. He was trying by every means in his power to prevent the King of Poland from asking for the chalice, as he was being urged to do in many quarters. On November 10th, 1564, Lainez, the General of the Jesuits wrote,³ that he was being informed from all parts of Germany that the concession of the chalice was doing more harm than good to religion, and that the heretics had only been rendered more insolent by it. To the question of Cardinal Hosius, as to what results the movement in favour of the chalice was producing in Bavaria, Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg⁴ replied that as far as he himself was concerned the Pope had not ordered the use of the two species, and that he did not intend to introduce it until he had first made known in Rome his reasons for opposing it. The Duke of Bavaria, who at first had hoped for great results from the concession of the chalice, had entirely changed his point of view, and was saying openly that the chalice should not be allowed to anyone.

It was true that from being the champion of the chalice

meliolem magisque fundatam informationem de statu Germanicae nationis." (CANISII, Epist., IV., 619).

¹ HOSII Opera, II., 241, Cologne 1584. CANISII Epist., V., 97.

² June 6, 1565, in POGIANI Epist., III., 165.

³ To Hosius, in CYPRIANUS, 376.

⁴ November 20, 1564, in CYPRIANUS, 379, and POGIANI Epist., III. 165.

Albert V. had now become its strong opponent. The mission of Ormaneto and the discouraging letter of Hosius had already to a great extent cooled his enthusiasm.¹ More exact information in the years 1563 and 1564 showed that the number of those who wished for the chalice was by no means so great as might have been supposed from the hasty estimate of those who spoke on behalf of the concession, and that those who did were, for the most part, only to be found in a majority in the neighbourhood of Protestant districts.² The pontifical concession of the chalice was not promulgated in Bavaria, and the two species were only administered in individual cases, and secretly, and then only in certain localities and with strict limitations.³ A few years later the Duke altogether forbade the chalice to the laity.⁴

In the meantime, in Austria, they not only held firmly to the chalice, but also sought to obtain a relaxation of the law of celibacy. Ferdinand I. had himself written to Rome on June 17th, 1564,⁵ that the concession of the two species was not sufficient by itself, unless those priests who had taken wives were also allowed to retain them. It was not without reason that Germany had always advanced these two claims in conjunction with each other, because the concession of the chalice had always been advocated and defended for the most part by those who, despite their priesthood, had taken wives, and afterwards, from fear of ecclesiastical penalties, had turned against the Church and her prelates. Moreover, it was impossible for the bishops in many districts to provide the people with unmarried priests, and they were therefore forced to leave many cures vacant, and the people were in consequence forced to turn to the ministers. Finally the concession of the chalice was fettered with certain conditions, but what was the use of imposing conditions if there was no one to

¹ Canisius to Hosius July 31 1563, in CANISIUS Epist., IV., 300 *seqq.*

² KNÖPFLE, 154 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁵ To Arco, in STEINHERZ, IV., 141 *seqq.*

explain them to the people or insist upon their observance? The Emperor therefore asked that priests who were already married might be dispensed, and that it should be allowed, in places where there was a scarcity of priests, that married laymen should be admitted to receive orders.

On September 19th, 1564, Maximilian II. renewed the demands of his father, which demands were also presented at the same time in the name of the Archduke Charles, on behalf of his territories of Styria and Carniola,¹ while the Archduke Ferdinand would have nothing to do with the marriage of priests as far as the Tyrol and the Swabian provinces of Austria were concerned.² It was once more the nuncio, Delfino, who, in gross violation of his duties as the representative of the Pope, drafted this letter which was so displeasing to Pius IV.,³ while in his other communications with Rome, under the guise of a mere narration of events, he caused the Imperial wishes to appear in the best possible light.⁴

In consequence of these demands the Pope found himself in a very embarrassing position. He had already had disastrous experience of the policy of concession in the matter of the chalice,⁵ but on the other hand it was very dangerous openly to oppose a prince of such doubtfully Catholic senti-

¹ STEINHERZ, IV., 205 *seq.* A *letter of the Archduke Charles to the Pope in favour of the concession of the chalice to the laity, dated Vienna, November 30, 1564, in the National Archives, Paris, Papiers de Simancas.

² "L'archiduca Ferdinando non ha scritto mai nè fatto dire a S. Stà cosa alcuna in questa materia del connubio, se bene dal imperatore si pretende, che li stati di detto Ferdinando siano ne la medesima necessità." Papal instruction of May 21, 1565, to the envoys at Vienna, STEINHERZ, IV., 364. Cf. DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 645. The chalice was not asked for Bohemia, where Ferdinand was the governor.

³ STEINHERZ, IV., 207.

⁴ Delfino to Borromeo, November 20, 1564, *ibid.*, 241 *seqq.*; cf. 330, 348.

⁵ The Pope, as well as Borromeo, was very soon convinced of this. DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 623, 625; cf. CANISI Epist., IV., 480 and 1065.

ments as Maximilian, since opposition might have the effect of provoking a new and worse Interim at the approaching diet.¹ Pius IV. therefore sought to gain time.² It was only on January 20th, 1565, that he appointed a commission of Cardinals to discuss the Emperor's demands.³ When, in March, this had led to no results, and the Emperor was still pressing for a definite reply,⁴ the number of the Cardinals on the commission was reduced from eighteen to five; these latter began their deliberations on April 14th⁵ and on May 12th they advised the Pope as a first step to send nuncios to the Emperor.⁶ On May 24th Archbishop Lionardo Marini and Pietro Guicciardini the Auditor of the Rota, set out for Vienna in this capacity.⁷ Before this Pius IV. had found a powerful ally in Philip II. of Spain, who, in a letter of March 12th, 1565, had charged Cardinal Pacheco to oppose the requests of Maximilian by every means in his power.⁸ The Pope, however, had not perfect confidence in the Spanish king, for he thought that Philip wished to drive him to a breach with the Emperor so that Spain might remain the only Catholic power, and he thus might be able to do as he liked with the Pope.⁹ In June, 1565, Philip II. sent Pedro de Avila to Rome for the express

¹ DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 594, 612.

² STEINHERZ, IV., 323, 336, 374, etc. "En negocios tan arduos la dilacion es la importa" was, according to Cardinal Pacheco, the maxim which guided the Pope in this matter. DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 595; cf. 597.

³ Borromeo to Delfino, January 20, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 277. Maximilian II. to Arco, March 13, 1565, *ibid.*, 317. The Pope had already brought forward the matter for discussion in the consistory of January 12. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13, p. 416b *seqq.* (Corsini Library, Rome). DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 588 *seqq.* LAEMMER, Melet., 217.

⁴ Borromeo to Delfino, March 3, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 306.

⁵ Borromeo to Delfino, April 14, 1565, *ibid.*, 333. Pacheco to Philip II., April 20, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, I., 598.

⁶ STEINHERZ, IV., 375.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 370.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 335.

⁹ Pacheco to Philip II., April 20, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, I., 598.

purpose of raising objections against the granting of the Emperor's demands.¹

In the meantime the two nuncios in Vienna were in an embarrassing position. According to their instructions,² it was their duty to try and make the Emperor change his mind, and to this end they were to point out that the Pope had to concern himself with the whole world and not with Germany alone, and that he could not inflict a grave injury on the whole of the Church so as to save a single country. There were the very gravest reasons for the celibacy of the clergy : the ancient custom of the Latin Church, dating from the time of the Apostles, and the dignity of the priesthood, which, on account of its close connection with the Holy Eucharist and the other sacraments, required virginity. If this concession were made in Germany, it would very soon be asked for in France and Flanders, and then in Spain and Italy, for which reason King Philip in particular had taken up a very decided attitude of opposition to the concession of marriage to the priests of Germany. The Emperor must further remember what difficulties this very request had occasioned at the time of the Interim and at the Council of Trent. Lastly, it was a mistaken policy to try and further religion by making concessions to sensuality, all the more so as it was generally felt in Rome that the same thing would happen with the marriage of priests as had happened with the concession of the chalice, which had caused scandal and loss of piety rather than edification, and in no case had produced the obvious advantages which had been promised. It was therefore much better to procure celibate priests, either from Germany itself or from elsewhere ; once the necessary pressure was brought to bear, there was reason to hope that many such would be found. Should the Emperor reply that the needs of Germany called for prompt measures and no delay, the Pope undertook to send a certain number of celibate priests, who, even though they did not know the language of the country, would be

¹ His instructions, July 10, in DÖLLINGER, I., 602 *seqq.*

² Of May 21, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 356 *seqq.*

able to be of assistance so that by means of the seminaries good German priests could be trained. Since they had already waited 30 or 40 years, they could certainly wait for another three or four. Should the Emperor not accept all this, they might hold out to him the possibility of the renewal of the concessions granted by Paul III. and Julius III. to Charles V., though they had never been carried into effect, namely that dispensations might be given in individual cases for married priests. If this should not be enough, the nuncios were to declare expressly that the Pope could not, nor was it lawful for him to do so, introduce into the Church so great a change, except in the case where the necessity for it was altogether obvious, and where extraordinary advantages would result, as for example the conversion of the whole of Germany, and when both the one and the other were proved in a quite incontestable way. Moreover the Pope could not effect such a change surreptitiously, but he would have to consult all the prelates who had German subjects; for example, he would have to obtain exact information as to the number of celibate priests, and of those who wished to marry in each district, so that the remedy might be made commensurate with the need.

For a time it seemed as though these arguments were not without their effect on the Emperor. Some of the things laid before him by Marini were entirely new to Maximilian, because he had never discussed his plans with the theologians.¹ In any case it is a fact that on July 28th he wrote to Arco to beg the Pope to delay in coming to a definite decision.² But Maximilian very soon reverted to his former wishes. On September 11th, Marini and Guicciardini left Vienna without having accomplished anything.³ One thing alone had their influence at Vienna helped to bring about; the double-dealing nuncio, Delfino, who at last, on June 26th, 1565, received the coveted cardinal's hat,⁴ and who could not therefore any longer

¹ Report of the Spanish ambassador, Chantonay, to Philip II. on July 28, 1565, in STEINHERZ, IV., 428.

² *Ibid.*, 435, 437.

³ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 402. He was nominated on March 13, 1565; *ibid.*, 441

remain as nuncio,¹ was, in consequence of a letter from the Spanish ambassador, recalled from his post even before the approaching Diet.² The Emperor was thus no longer under the influence of this intriguing man, who had not only held out hopes of the certainty of the concession of the marriage of priests, but had also shown himself ready to accept other very strange concessions.³ It seemed to the Papal legates that he and Arco had fostered the marriage of priests even more than the Emperor himself.⁴

Face to face with the renewed demands of Maximilian, the Pope endeavoured again to delay a decision. In the first place he replied to the insistence of the ambassador that he must await the return of Marini and Guicciardini, and when they had arrived on November 9th, he said that he wished to hear the views of Delfino before giving a definite reply. While he was still delaying, Pius IV. died.⁵

The matter of the publication and carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent had been quite pushed into the background by the question of the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. The hopes of a favourable outcome of this matter had become much less bright when, with the accession of Maximilian II., the reins of government had fallen into the hands of a prince who, confused and obscure in his religious sentiments, showed himself in the most varying aspects, and,

¹ *Ibid.*, 441. On August 4, 1565, Pius IV. also recalled the other nuncios who had been nominated as Cardinals.

² In a letter from Borromeo on August 18, 1565, *ibid.*, 440. The letter of Chantonay, the contents of which were communicated to the Pope by Cardinal Pacheco, and had as its consequence the recall of Delfino, *ibid.*, 442 *seq.*; *cf.* 429 *seq.*

³ *Cf.* Chantonay to Philip II., July 21, 1565, *ibid.*, 405 *seq.* Chantonay was frankly opposed to Delfino, but Marini and Guicciardini very soon lost in Vienna their confidence in Delfino. *Cf.* Chantonay, July 14, 1565, *ibid.*, 404 *seq.* HIRN, in *Allgem. Literaturblatt*, XXVI. (1917), 48 *seq.*, passes judgment on Delfino in terms of justifiable severity.

⁴ Avila to Philip II., November 14, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 638.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 635, 638. STEINHERZ, IV., 462 *seqq.*, 465 *seq.*

in many important doctrines no longer took his stand upon the firm ground of the Catholic Church.¹ When, in the October of 1564, Delfino proposed to Maximilian that he should publish the decrees of Trent by an Imperial edict, he made profuse declarations which Visconti summed up very aptly by saying that, in view of the existing conditions in Germany the Emperor refused to comply with anything of the kind.² It was quite in accordance with this that he unceremoniously forbade the publication of the decrees in Hungary, for which purpose the Archbishop of Gran had summoned a meeting of the Hungarian bishops for April 23rd, 1564.³ Whereas the Council of Trent had exacted from the professors of Catholic universities a sworn promise to teach in the Catholic sense, Maximilian had hardly mounted the throne before, in violation of the charter of foundation of the University of Vienna, he ordained that the profession of the Catholic creed was no longer necessary for appointment, but that it was enough if the candidate declared that he was a Christian Catholic.⁴

Under these circumstances the only hope of improvement lay in a bold stand being made by the episcopate. But at first the Austrian bishops were by no means in a hurry to reform their clergy in accordance with the decrees of the Council, or to provide for a healthy rising generation by the establishment of seminaries for priests.⁵ The Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, Daniel von Brendel, endeavoured in 1564 to carry out the wishes of the Council by obtaining a pontifical decree empowering him to endow the Jesuit college

¹ For the religious attitude of Maximilian II., *cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.¹⁵⁻¹⁶, 210 *seqq.*, where the recent monographs of Götz, Walter and Hopfen are minutely examined. HUBER, IV., 226, also shows that Maximilian was not a Catholic of any firm conviction. V. BIBL, in *Archiv für österr. Geschichte*, 106 (1908), 298 *seqq.*, gives further information on the matter of the religious attitude of Maximilian II.

² *Cf.* STEINHERZ, IV., 224, 229.

³ See STEINHERZ, IV., 65, 101.

⁴ See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.¹⁵⁻¹⁶, 447.

⁵ *Cf.* HUBER, IV., 227.

at Mayence and a seminary for poor boys, which he intended to entrust to the direction of the Jesuits.¹

It was of great importance for Germany that little by little Bavaria set to work on the lines of a Catholic restoration.² It was a characteristic step in this direction when Duke Albert, on September 5th, 1564, entered into an agreement with the Archbishop of Salzburg and the other bishops for the carrying out of the decrees formulated at Trent and confirmed by the Pope.³ A Bavarian bishop, Martin von Schaumberg of Eichstätt, was the one who, by establishing a seminary, in November, 1564, won the glory of having been the first to found in Germany an institution of the kind prescribed by the Council.⁴ Side by side with this there was in the college of St. Jerome, founded at Dillingen as far back as 1549 by Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, an institution which, in its aims and organization, corresponded to the seminaries required by the Council.⁵

¹ See the letter of Polanco from Rome, April 10, 1564, in CANISII Epist., IV., 493 *seq.*

² Details in JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.¹⁵⁻¹⁶, 445 *seq.*, 458 *seq.*, and RIEZLER, IV., 541 *seq.*

³ See v. ARETIN, Maximilian I., 152, n. 5, Passau, 1842.

⁴ Cf. SCHMIDLIN, 76.

⁵ See RIEZLER, IV., 237.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF RELIGION IN POLAND.

CONDITIONS in the kingdom of Poland, as in Germany, were the cause of no little anxiety to Pius IV. In Greater Poland and Lithuania the teaching of Luther and the community of the Bohemian Brothers had obtained a great hold, while the same thing was true in Little Poland of the doctrines of Calvin, who kept up an active correspondence with his adherents in the distant east. The real strength of the new opinions in the kingdom of the Jagellons lay among the "Schlachta" or smaller landed gentry, who saw in them the best means of completely overthrowing the clergy, as they had already succeeded in doing with the peasant and citizen classes.¹ The easy-going king, Sigismund Augustus, allowed things to take their course, the more so as he was, just at the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV., completely occupied by the danger which threatened him from the Russian Czar, Ivan the Terrible. In order to meet this danger he betook himself to Livonia, where he remained during the whole of 1560. He therefore took no active part in the negotiations for the reassembly of the Council, though he put no obstacles in the way of the Holy See in this matter.² At the beginning of March, 1560, he had sent an envoy to Rome for the *obedientia*, and was thus one of the first among the secular princes to perform this act.³

¹ See LJUBOWICZ, *Istoria reformacji w Polsce*, Kalwinisty y Antitrinitarii, Warsaw, 1883. Cf. *Histor. Zeitschrift*, LXVIII., 558 *seq.*

² Cf. DEMBIŃSKI, *Rzym*, I., 186 *seq.*

³ See MASSARELLI, 343, and BONDONUS, 533, the former of whom dates the *obedientia* March 9, and the other March 5, 1560. This matter, which was left open by Merkle, is decided in favour of March 9, by the *Acta consist. Cam. IX., (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). The brief of thanks from Pius IV., in THEINER, *Monum. Pol.*, II., 597 *seq.*

It never, however, entered the head of Sigismund Augustus that the ceremony of the *obedientia* made it incumbent upon the bearer of the crown to protect the Church. The final solution of the Livonian question, when exactly the same thing occurred as had happened in Prussia in 1525, showed how little the Polish king had the interests of the Church at heart. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Gotthard von Ketteler, returned to the lay state, and as Duke of Curland and Semgallen became the vassal of the King of Poland, who, on his side, promised to leave the country its independent constitution and full liberty to profess the Confession of Augsburg!¹

Pius IV. had appointed the Bishop of Camerino, Bernardo Bongiovanni,² as nuncio in Poland, in April, 1560. He was instructed to warn the king not to allow religious disputations, to prevent anything prejudicial to the Catholic Church at the approaching Diet, to encourage the Catholics to hold fast to the faith, and above all to urge the bishops to the zealous fulfilment of their duties, and the energetic defence of the rights of the Church.³ In a letter of August 29th, 1560, Bongiovanni describes to Cardinal Morone the sad state of

¹ See SCHIEMANN, *Russland, Polen und Livland bis zum 17. Jahrh.* II., 307. Cf. SEIBERTZ on G. v. Ketteler in *Zeitschrift für Gesch. und Altertumskunde*, XXIX., Munster, 1871, and SCHEIMANN, *Die Reformation Altlivlands*, Reval, 1884.

² See the brief to the King of Poland, dated April 23, 1560, in THEINER, *Monum. Pol.*, II., 598; *ibid.* reports of Bongiovanni to Morone of the years 1561-63. For the way Bongiovanni ignored Hosius see EICHHORN, II., 23.

³ The instructions for Bongiovanni in Polish in *Relacye*, I., 74 *seq.* Also in various Italian collections of manuscripts there is to be found from Bongiovanni a **Relatione di Polonia* (Vatican Library, Cod. Ottob., 2433, p. 165 *seq.*; 2510, p. 66 *seq.*; Urb. 1020, p. 20 *seq.* Chigi Library, Rome, R. 1, p. 51. Ambrosian Library, Milan, D. 208. State Archives, Florence., C. Strozzi., 314). Cf. FABISZ, *Wiadomość o Legatach i Nuncyuszach Apostolskich w dawnej Polsce*, Ostrów, 1866, 135. On the question of the succession to Bari, mentioned in the instructions, cf. EICHHORN, I., 315 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 319; III., 296 *seq.*; STEINHERZ, I., 25 *seq.*

affairs which he had found in Poland. He paints in strong colours the despotic and selfish attitude of the nobles, who had led their vassals away from the old faith, and the activity of the new preachers, of whom some called themselves Lutherans, others Sacramentarians, others Schwenkfeldians and followers of Servetus. The disunion among these preachers was very great and violent disputes took place at their meetings. Bongiovanni did not share the fear of many good Catholics that the king might fall away from the faith ; he thought that Sigismund Augustus would maintain his previous attitude of allowing everyone to believe what he pleased, but that he would personally remain true to the Catholic Church. The nuncio looked upon the furtherance of the sending of representatives to the Council as his principle task, as well as the strengthening of the Catholic senators in their goodwill with a view to the future Diet, and the winning back of the heretics, whom he looked on as being less obstinate than those in Germany.¹

It did not escape the notice of Bongiovanni how much the king's attitude injured the interests of the Church. In his reports to Rome he deplores that Sigismund Augustus should be on friendly terms with the heretics, and allow them full liberty to draw people away from the Catholic Church. At the outset the nuncio absolutely condemned the protection which the king accorded to Jakob Uchanski, who was suspected of heresy, but had been designated for the bishopric of Kujavia,

¹ *Bongiovanni to Morone from Cracow, August 29, 1560 (Cod. Vatic. lat., 6409, p. 58, Vatican Library), translated in *Relacye*, I., 85 *seq.* Hosius describes the confusion in Poland in very similar terms in a letter in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 8. The deputation to the Council met with very serious opposition (see ŠUSTA, I., 121, 247 ; II., 40). On the failure of the efforts of Bongiovanni to win back Stanislaus Orzechowski, who had drifted away from the Church, see *Relacye*, I., 91 *seq.*, and *Kirchenlexikon* of Freiburg, IX.,² 1103 *seq.*, where is to be found the special bibliography, to which has recently been added the monograph of L. KUBULA (Lemberg, 1906). On the faculties for absolving the heretics see ŠUSTA, I., 31.

although this had not been confirmed in Rome.¹ This was quite in accordance with the instructions which the nuncio had received from Pius IV., who in this matter took up exactly the same point of view as his predecessor.² It is therefore very difficult to understand how Bongiovanni should very soon have allowed himself to be completely won over by Uchanski. He absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures and did not rest until his confirmation as Bishop of Kujavia had been obtained.³ He even went further! When Przerembski, Archbishop of Gnesen, died in January, 1562, Bongiovanni assisted his protégé to obtain this high and influential position.⁴ The nuncio, who was before everything else a diplomatist and politician, hoped to effect more by mildness than by strict measures. His attitude towards the popular but quite unreliable Uchanski caused great scandal to zealous Catholics, and on this account they desired the appointment of a new nuncio. The relations between Bongiovanni and Uchanski seem at last to have given scandal in Rome as well, and the overthrow of Catholic interests at the Diet at Petrikau in 1562, made the nuncio's position untenable.⁵

Uchanski showed, in the immediate future, how little fitted he was to fill the highest position in the Church in Poland. The new primate, brought up as he had been among schismatics and uniats, hoped to gain everything by means of concessions in the matters of communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the introduction of the Polish language into the

¹ Cf. *Relacye*, I., 95 seq.

² Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 336.

³ See *Relacye*, I., 102 seq.; THEINER, II., 658 seqq. Cf. ZAKRZEWSKI, 141 seqq. The Papal confirmation arrived on June 2, 1561; see KORZENIOWSKI, *Analecta*, 108.

⁴ Papal confirmation of August 31, 1562; see KORZENIOWSKI, *loc. cit.*, 109. The letter of the King, asking for the confirmation, in THEINER, II., 644. Moreover, Hosius also recommended Uchanski; *ibid.*, 646. Cf. ZAKRZEWSKI, 266.

⁵ Cf. EICHHORN, II., 152, 208, corrected by ZAKRZEWSKI, 141, 175, 269; BAIN in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, III., 82; DEMBIŃSKI, *Rzym*, I., 207.

liturgy. "By the help of all his arts, among which the intention to deceive and to take people unawares played no small part,"¹ he aimed at holding a national synod. Fortunately for the Polish Church, Pius IV. clearly recognized the threatened danger,² and after the recall of Bongiovanni at Easter, 1563,³ he appointed the energetic and shrewd Giovanni Commendone as nuncio in Poland, who, together with the distinguished Cardinal Hosius, successfully frustrated such dangerous proposals. The petty artifices of Uchanski, no less than the activities of the innovators were powerless before these two "men made as it were of steel and granite."⁴ They became the saviours of the gravely threatened Church in Poland.⁵

Commendone, who started from Venice on October 15th, 1563, passed through Pressburg, where he presented himself before the Emperor, Ferdinand I., and King Maximilian II.⁶

¹ CARO gives this opinion in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXVIII., 516, in a valuable review of the monograph of WIERZBOWSKI, J. Uchanski, arcybiskup Gnieznienski, 1562-1581, Warsaw, 1895.

² For the importance which Pius IV. attached to the King of Poland remaining true to the Church, cf. ŠUSTA, III., 43; GIAC. SORANZO, 150.

³ Cf. EICHHORN, II., 153; ZAKRZEWSKI, 175.

⁴ See CARO, *loc. cit.*, 518.

⁵ The chief sources for the Polish nunciature of Commendone are his *reports, preserved in a volume written by Graziani in the Graziani Archives at Città di Castello; a later copy in Cod. Barb. lat., 5789 (formerly LXII., 58), already used by RAYNALDUS (1563, n. 187 *seq.*), and PALLAVICINI (24, 13), translated into Polish by MALINOWSKI (Wilna, 1847, 2 vols.), with regard to which, however, an examination of the original text is not unnecessary. There are also some letters and documents in LAGOMARSINI, *De scriptis invita Minerva*, II., 117 *seqq.*, and in Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., 1899, 75 *seqq.*; 1900, 51 *seq.* In comparison with these reports the life of Commendone by GRAZIANI (Paris, 1669) is of only secondary importance. Cf. also EICHHORN, II., 208 *seq.* Commendone received a monthly stipend of 200 scudi; cf. FABISZ, 137, n. 2.

⁶ See STEINHERZ, III., 477, 480. Cf. also STEINHERZ, *Ein Bericht über Villach von 1563 in Carinthia*, I. (1913). Hosius had worked for the mission of Commendone; see ŠUSTA, IV., 208, 248.

He arrived in Cracow on November 21st, and from thence he hurried on to Warsaw where the Diet was opened on December 6th. The nuncio was accompanied, in addition to his secretary, Antonio Maria Graziani, by two other learned men, Federigo Pendasio and Paolo Emilio Giovannini. The sad condition of religion in Poland, and the ineffectual resistance which the disunited and weak episcopate offered to the dissemination of the new doctrines is evident, both from the account drawn up by Giovannini and from the reports of Commendone.¹ The opposite views of Uchanski, the Archbishop of Gnesen, and Padniewski, the Bishop of Cracow, became evident immediately upon the arrival of Commendone. The latter wished the nuncio to be received by the king in a public audience, the former only privately. Even in his first audiences Commendone had plenty of opportunities of realizing not only the disunion of the episcopate, but also the weakness of Sigismund Augustus. Friendly though his reception of the Pope's representative was, he nevertheless showed but little inclination to take any active part in securing the repeal of the decree issued in the Diet of the preceding year, limiting episcopal jurisdiction. Commendone could obtain little more than promises for the future, though he built great hopes on the influence of Hosius, whom the king had invited to Lomza after the close of the Diet (May 1st, 1564). On this occasion Hosius did not fail in displaying the greatest zeal and eloquence. Among other matters, his expostulations were directed against the proposal, which was now again being put forward, of holding a national council, to which the dissenters should be invited. Hosius endeavoured to convince the king that the ecclesiastical confusion would only be increased by such a course, and declared that he would be unable to take part in any such assembly. He explained that only an ecumenical council, such as that at Trent, could decide on matters concerning the Catholic faith, but not a provincial or a national council. As the sectarians had repudiated any such council, they would only attend in order to dispute, and where

¹ See KORZENIOWSKI, 180 *seq.*

could such disputation lead, if the decrees of an ecumenical council were to become a subject of controversy? It was therefore the duty of the princes to carry out the decrees of Trent.¹

The most important question for ecclesiastical conditions in Poland was touched upon in these words. Upon its solution Commendone held consultations with Hosius whom he visited on May 20th, 1564, at Frauenberg, and with whom he stayed for two months.² In July, Commendone, who was then with Hosius at Heilsberg, received a letter from Borromeo, of March 24th, to which were attached five copies of the printed decrees of the Council, the acceptance of which in Poland he was instructed to bring about.³ Commendone, as well as Hosius, was convinced that this could not be done in a private audience; on the other hand it did not seem advisable to deliver the decrees to the Diet, as many Protestants, with whom Uchanski, who was aiming at a national council, had secret relations, had a seat there. In spite of this, however, Commendone at length decided upon the latter course, as the other might lead to even greater complications. The king, however, must first be won over. The nuncio, who had won the favour of the king by his prudent attitude, hoped to be successful in accomplishing this by acting with both circumspection and promptitude. At the beginning of August he appeared at Parczow, where the king was holding a national assembly. In a long audience on August 7th, Commendone set before him the great importance of accepting the Tridentine decrees. The king listened attentively, and promised to give him an answer after he had deliberated with his counsellors; immediately after-

¹ See EICHHORN, II., 213 *seq.*, 216.

² See LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., III., 426 n.; EICHHORN, II., 217. Hosius continued in active correspondence with Commendone. A *letter dated from Posnaniae, 1564, Jan. 27, deals with the wearisome return journey; one of February 19, from Heilsberg announces his return; one of April 16 expresses his joy at the approaching visit of Commendone (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

³ See the report of Commendone of July 6, 1564, in LAGOMARSINI, Pogiani Epist., IV., 131 n.

wards Commendone was himself summoned into their presence. His surprise at this was very great, but he quickly recovered himself and explained his request in eloquent terms. He set forth in detail the reasons for and the work of the Council of Trent, the necessity for a supreme authority in matters of faith, and the confusion which had sprung from the setting up of "new and false papacies at Geneva, Wittenberg and elsewhere;" he also spoke of the evil effects of the religious innovations on political conditions, of which he had had personal experience in Germany, France, and England. His most earnest wish was that Poland might enjoy a happier fate, and with this he delivered the decrees, which alone would afford a remedy in the existing state of confusion. The stirring words of Commendone, and his skill in bringing out the advantages of the re-establishment of ecclesiastical unity for the domestic peace and the national greatness of Poland did not fail to make a great impression. When, after his speech, he was about modestly to withdraw, the king begged him to remain, saying that since he was ignorant of the Polish language, his presence would not interfere with the freedom of the discussion. Uchanski then proposed a further consideration of the question, but Sigismund Augustus declared that for his part it seemed to him fitting that they should accept the decrees of the Council at once. The reply, which was communicated in Latin by the vice-chancellor of the kingdom, declared that the king accepted the decrees of the holy Council of Trent, and would take care that they were carried into effect throughout the whole kingdom.¹ On August 7th, 1564, there

¹ See the report of Commendone to Borromeo of August 8, 1564, in LAGOMARSINI, *Pogiani Epist.*, IV., 133-5 n.; *ibid.*, 20 n. the letter of the Polish king of August 9, and the reply of Pius IV., of November 3, 1564. Cf. also the letter of Uchanski of August 10, 1564, in WIERZBOWSKI, *Uchansciana*, II., 62, and the *letter of Hosius to Commendone dated Heilsberg, September 11, 1564, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. In the consistory of October 6, 1564, Pius IV. gave great praise to the King of Poland for his acceptance of the decrees of the Council. *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome). Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 45.

appeared two royal edicts, which, only partially it is true, met the wishes of Commendone. The one set people on their guard against the new doctrines, while the other banished all foreign religious innovators.¹ The discredited Bernardino Ochino did not wait for their publication, but left Cracow at the beginning of September, 1564.²

The acceptance of the decrees by the king was not enough, as Commendone very quickly realized, to give them the force of law in Poland ; the nuncio therefore set to work to obtain their acceptance by the Diet as well. At a personal interview he prevailed upon the Bishop of Lemberg to take the carrying out of the decrees in hand.³ Commendone extended his journey through the Polish kingdom as far as Podolia, his efforts everywhere being directed to the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses.⁴ Since the end of the year he had again been occupied with the renewed danger of a national council, against which he worked upon the king, as well as in other ways, wherever he had an opportunity.⁵ In the Diet which was opened in January, 1565, at Petrikau, the religious innovators strove with all their power for the holding of such a council.⁶ This danger was indeed averted, but the Diet decided upon the liberation of the nobles from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁷ By

¹ See ZAKRZEWSKI, 271 ; ZIVIER, *Neuere Geschichte Polens*, I., Gotha, 1915, 748 *seq.*

² See the *report of Commendone dated Lemberg, September 9, 1564 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello), which BENRATH, Ochino, 335, amplifies.

³ Cf. ZIVIER, I., 756 *seq.* Particulars of the attitude of the Polish clergy towards the Tridentine decrees and their promulgation in Poland in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, XXII. (1869), 84 *seq.*

⁴ See the *reports of Commendone of May 19, October 7, and November 12, 1564 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

⁵ See the *reports of Commendone of December 23, 1564, and January 2 and 8, 1565, *ibid.*

⁶ See the *reports of Commendone of January 23 and 24, 1565, *ibid.*

⁷ Cf. ZIVIER, I., 759 *seq.*

calling attention to the disturbances in France, Commendone was successful in inducing even many persons of Protestant leanings to have no further desire for a national council.¹

This danger seemed hardly to have been averted when a new one arose. The plan of divorcing himself from his wife, the Archduchess Catherine of Austria, who gave him no prospect of issue, was taking a stronger and stronger hold upon the king. The validity of his marriage was to be contested on the ground that Catherine was the sister of the king's first wife. A dispensation from this impediment, however, had been granted by the Pope, and it could hardly be supposed, therefore, that Pius IV. would consent to a separation.² The innovators now called upon the king to cause his divorce to be declared by a national council; they had already fixed upon a future queen in the daughter of Radziwill, the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants. If Sigismund Augustus had fallen in with these plans, there would have been a repetition in Poland of what had been seen in England under Henry VIII. Fortunately this extreme step was prevented, and this was in no small degree due to Commendone.³

The indefatigable nuncio had richly deserved the purple which was bestowed on him on March 12th, 1565. Always active on behalf of ecclesiastical affairs in Poland, he remained there until the end of the year, though when he left the kingdom, in spite of all his successes, he was greatly troubled at heart for its future. Political anarchy was as rampant there as the religious controversy.⁴ The anti-Trinitarians were

¹ See the *report of Commendone of January 26, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

² See the letter from Borromeo to Commendone of March 3, 1565, in THEINER, *Monum. Pol.*, II., 716.

³ See the *reports of Commendone of January 8, 30 and 31; February 1, 4, 8, 12, 16, 19, 20, 26 and 28; March 2, 4, 15 and 23; April 1 and 10; and May 3, 1565, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. Cf. WIERZBOWSKI, *Uchansciana*, I., 125 *seq.*; EICHHORN, II., 241 *seq.*; WOTSCHKE, 212.

⁴ Cf. the *report of Commendone of April 7, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

spreading everywhere ; the question of the king's divorce as well as the untrustworthiness of Uchanski were sources of grave danger.¹ Nevertheless Commendone could console himself with the thought that he had, during his sojourn in Poland, laid the foundations for a reform and a Catholic restoration by the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees which he had obtained from the king.² The carrying into effect of these, especially that against the accumulation of benefices, and that about the duty of residence, opened out, it is true, extraordinary difficulties,³ but on the other hand Commendone had the joy of witnessing the beginnings of a renewal of ecclesiastical life ; at the Easter of 1565 he was able to report as to the increasing frequentation of the holy sacraments, and the first signs of the return of many Protestants to the Church.⁴ In all his efforts for an ecclesiastical restoration, to which he continued to give his attention to the end,⁵ no one stood more loyally by his side than Hosius. In August, 1565, they united in bringing their influence to bear on the diocesan synod of Heilsberg in favour of the carrying out of the Tridentine

¹ Cf. EHRENBERG, 164, 177. For the anxiety in Rome see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, dated Rome, May 19, 1565 (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes., 763).

² Writers of the most various points of view are unanimous in recognizing the importance which attaches to Hosius and Commendone in connection with the Catholic restoration in Poland. Cf. EICHHORN, II., 208 *seqq.*; ZUKOWIČ, Il cardinale Hosio e la chiesa polacca, Petrograd, 1882 (in Russian) ; HIRSCH in Allgem. Deutsche Biographie, XIII., 182 *seq.*; SCHIEMANN, III., 325 *seq.*; LJUBOWICZ, Naczalo katoliczeskoj reakcii i upadok reformacji w Polszje (the beginnings of the Catholic reaction and the decline of the reformation in Poland ; see Histor. Zeitschrift, LXVIII., 175 *seq.*, Warsaw, 1891) ; KORZENIOWSKI, 175 *seqq.*; Anzeiger der Krakauer Akademie, 1894, 221 ; WOTSCHKE, 209 *seqq.*; BAIN in Cambridge Mod. Hist., III., 83.

³ Cf. the detailed *report of Commendone of June 3, 1565 (Graziani Archives, Città di Castello).

⁴ See the *report of Commendone of April 25, 1565, *ibid.*

⁵ In a *letter dated Posnaniae, October, 1565, he speaks of his attempts to establish a seminary, *ibid.*

decrees.¹ It was due to both Cardinals that one of the most powerful instruments for the Catholic restoration, the Jesuits, turned their attention to the east. They immediately established colleges at Braunsberg, Wilna, and Pultusk. The college at Braunsberg became the centre of the Catholic restoration in eastern and northern Europe.²

¹ Cf. EICHHORN, II., 169 *seq.*

² Pius IV. had already, in a brief of August 28, 1561, recommended the introduction of the Jesuits to the Archbishop of Gnesen (see EHRENBURG, 93 *seq.*). For the introduction of the Jesuits into Poland see POGIANI Epist., IV., 136 *seq.*; THEINER, Monum. Pol., II., 717, 719; THEINER, Schweden, II., 168; EICHHORN, II., 173 *seqq.*; KRASICKI, De Soc. Iesu in Polonia primordia, Berlin, 1860; ZAKRZEWSKI, 269; CANISH Epist., IV., 461 *seq.*, 798; FIJALEK, Pierwsi Jezuici w Polsce (see Anzeiger der Krakauer Akademie, 1894, 226 *seq.*). ZALESKI, Jezuici w Polsce, I., Lwów, 1900. For Braunsberg see DUHR, I., 179 *seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

THE crisis which the kingdom of France had to encounter was far more violent and dangerous than that in Poland. A victory of the new religious opinions there would have been of incalculably far-reaching importance for the whole of Europe.

The premature death of Henry II. (July 10th, 1559) brought about a decisive change in French affairs, and during the reigns of his sons, who were minors, the domestic dissensions in the kingdom grew more and more acute. In political as well as in religious matters grave disorders broke loose upon the kingdom. Calvinism, the adherents of which, in spite of the persecution of Henry II., were increasing in numbers,¹ had, with its fundamental doctrine of predestination, and its pitiless separation of the elect and the lost, pierced deep into the heart of ancient France.² It had, moreover, entered into close alliance with the opposition party in politics.

Under the first successor of Henry II., Francis II., who was only sixteen years of age, and who was weak in body as well as in mind, the reins of government fell into the hands of the Guise, of whom Francis, the bold and experienced soldier, and his diplomatic brother, the Cardinal, were the most important. Cardinal Charles Guise, that highly-gifted man, who had already received the purple at the age of twenty-three, had many high qualities, but also many grave faults. The youngest of the French Cardinals, he put the others to shame by his strictly ecclesiastical manner of life. In his diocese of Rheims he had devoted himself, above all, to the

¹ See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 323 *seqq.*

² See MARCKS in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, LXII., 43.

formation of a good clergy. His imposing presence, his knowledge of languages and his eloquence, aroused universal admiration, but all the more did his contemporaries blame his boundless ambition, his self-seeking character, and his greed of wealth and power.¹ The Guise knew well that the revolutionary tendencies of the people had their origin in the religious innovations,² and they accordingly strove to keep the latter in check with as much rigour as the dead king. This made as many enemies for them as the unlimited power which the king allowed them, and the want of consideration with which they used it. Having only recently settled in France, they were looked upon as foreigners, a thing which added to the number of their opponents. All these malcontents, as the Venetian ambassador, Soriano, says, united themselves with the Huguenots, as the Calvinists in France were then called, so that they might attain their private aims under the guise of religion.³ Among these malcontents, in addition to many of the nobles, were to be found the princes of the blood royal, to whom, according to the old French custom, belonged the first place in the councils of a king who was a minor, but who now found themselves put in the background and passed

¹ See G. Michiel in ALBÈRI, I., 3, 440 *seq.* Cf. GRATIANUS, *De bello*, 303 ; RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, I², 194 *seq.* BOUILLÉ (*Hist. des ducs de Guise*, Paris, 1849), FORNERON (I., 86 *seq.*), and GUILLEMAIN (*Le card. de Lorraine*, Paris, 1847) are defective from the point of view of criticism in their accounts. SOLDAN, (I., 215) remarks that the Protestant partisan writings must be used with caution, as well as the panegyrics of contemporary and later authors ; but he himself has not been sufficiently careful in this respect. The same is true of PHILIPPSON (*Westenropa*, II., 97), who describes the Cardinal as a hypocrite " who was at bottom a complete infidel ! " A biography, complying with the requirements of modern science, of the Cardinal, who was a man of very complicated character, is still very much wanted. The publication by H. MOYSSER of the *Lettres et papiers d'État du card. Ch. de Lorraine* will provide the basis for such a biography.

² The opinion of Voss, *Verhandlungen*, 20.

³ M. Soriano in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 131 ; *cf. ibid.*, 155.

over. Not a few of these important personages openly and unreservedly avowed themselves Calvinists, while others were at any rate strongly inclined to their opinions.

Of the princes of the collateral line of Bourbon, the only one who remained true to the Church was Charles de Bourbon, who had been raised to the purple by Paul III. His elder brother, Antoine de Vendôme, who was, through his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, titular King of Navarre, but actually only in possession of Béarn and Lower Navarre, was a man of weak character, who allowed himself to be guided by those about him. As his wife was a zealous adherent of the Huguenots, the latter counted upon his support; they were certain of that of his brother, Louis de Condé. This prince, who was as ambitious as he was cunning, was, despite his dissolute life and his love of pleasure, a man of great energy and resolution. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny must be described as an even more important personality; his severe manner of life was in strong contrast to that of Condé, but he was in complete accord with him in the matter of religion.

The opposition party, both political and religious, which ascribed to the Catholic Guise all the abuses in the French kingdom, set on foot, in the spring of 1560, the conspiracy of Amboise, which aimed at the overthrow of the Guise, the abduction of the king, and at setting Condé at the head of the government, and thus establishing the predominance of Calvinism. Condé himself was the secret leader of the conspiracy, the ramifications of which stretched as far as England and Germany.¹ The Calvinists justified their action on the ground of political necessity.² The plot, however, was discovered, and many of the conspirators were executed. Nevertheless, it did not fail to have an effect; a certain weakening began to show itself in the hitherto unbending attitude of the Guise; they allowed the appointment as chancellor of Michel de L'Hôpital, the leader of the so-called political Catholics, who were pursuing the phantom of compromise

¹ See RUBLE, II., 140 *seq.*; MARCKS, Coligny, 362.

² See PLATSHOFF, Theorie, 50.

(July 30th, 1560), while they also made further concessions, which were interpreted by their enemies as signs of fear, and which they therefore hailed with ridicule.¹ Thus the courage and the pretensions of the hitherto persecuted Calvinists began to revive, and they began to lift up their heads in many different places. As early as the summer of 1560 a close observer reported to Rome that heresy was steadily spreading in the provinces, because so little resistance was made to it. At Rouen nocturnal battles in the streets between the Catholics and Huguenots were not uncommon, while at Orleans, Poitiers and in other towns the Catholics showed themselves so timid that they scarcely dared to make complaint.²

Pius IV., who had since May been anxious about the turn of affairs in France,³ sought vainly to remedy them by nominating, on June 13th, 1560, Cardinal Tournon as Grand Inquisitor for France, with the power of proceeding against the heretics even without the assistance of the local bishops. Fully realizing that the principal cause of the religious schism lay in the disorders among the clergy, he, at the same time, proposed to restore discipline among the French ecclesiastics by the appointment as legates of the two Cardinals, Tournon and Guise.⁴ But this measure came too late. Many of the

¹ Cf. RUBLE, II., 317 *seq.*; SOLDAN, I., 346 *seq.*; RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, I²., 207; MARR, *Calvin und die Widerstandsbewegung in Frankreich*, Dresden, 1902, 66. For M. de L'Hôpital see the special works of TAILLANDIER (Paris, 1861), VILLEMAMIN (Paris, 1874), GEUER (Leipzig, 1877), DUPRÉ-LASALE (Paris, 1875 and 1899), ATKINSON (London, 1899), AMPOUX (Paris, 1900).

² See Epist. P. Broeti, 139. Cf. DEJARDINS, III., 419 *seqq.*; MARCKS, Coligny, 372 *seq.*

³ Cf. the *report of Mula dated Rome, May 25, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ See RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 31 *seq.*, and 36. Cf. Voss, *Verhandlungen*, 62, for the mission of Cardinal Armagnac to save Antoine de Navarre and his wife from apostasy, and for the protection of Avignon. Cf. RUBLE, II., 371 *seq.*, 378; TAMIZEY DE LAROQUE, *Lettres du card. d'Armagnac* in the *Rev. Hist.*, II., 517 *seq.*

bishops who had been nominated by the court party were tainted by the corruption of the times, and were quite unfit to take steps against the abuses among the lower clergy. Even the regular clergy had in various ways degenerated, while the new order of the Jesuits, which was so full of vigour, was not allowed into France.¹ It can therefore be no matter for surprise that, among the secular clergy, both the higher and the lower, as well as in the monasteries, there were to be found many secret Calvinists, who were held back from open apostasy only by the consideration of their benefices and the fear of punishment. Even several of the bishops, such as Jean de Montluc of Valence, Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzès, and Caraccioli of Troyes, as well as even Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, were followers of the new doctrines. The common people, as Giovanni Michiel bears witness, still remained loyally firm in their old faith, but on the other hand, the upper classes, and especially the nobles, were greatly tainted by the new religious opinions, and many only went to mass for the sake of appearances or out of fear.²

The religious situation in France became even more threatening when the government took up an antagonistic attitude towards the Holy See by reason of its policy with regard to the Council. Undeterred by the repeated assurances of Pius IV. that the ecumenical Council would very soon be convoked, the French Council of State projected the holding of a special assembly of the French prelates, which looked only too like a national council. Even good Catholics, discontented at the long suspension of the Council of Trent, gave their support to these proposals, which were the outcome of that Gallican spirit, which had for so long filled the Curia with anxiety. In spite of all the assurances to the contrary on the part of the French government, Rome saw in this assembly of the prelates, a national council, which would in all probability lead to schism.³ In the case of the ambitious Cardinal Guise they feared that he was aiming at the dignity of French

¹ Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 203 *seqq.*, and Vol. XIV., p. 325.

² See *Relazione di Francia* in ALBÈRI, I., 3, 426.

³ See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 184.

patriarch.¹ How far his conduct was influenced by the idea of a national church, which would be incompatible with the unity of the universal Church, must remain an open question ; at anyrate it was a strange and suspicious circumstance that both he and the untrustworthy chancellor, de L'Hôpital, were promoting a national council. The Venetian ambassador, Michele Soriano, has expressed the opinion that Guise only wished to throw dust in the eyes of the innovators by this plan of a national council.² Whatever the real objects of the Cardinal may have been,³ his conduct with regard to the question of the Council had very disastrous consequences. Even though in November he changed his attitude, and threw over the national council, his policy had so encouraged the Huguenots that in those places where they were strongest they persecuted the Catholics and drove them from their churches.⁴ They even threatened Avignon itself. Condé then planned a fresh conspiracy for the overthrow of the Guise, but this too was discovered and led to the imprisonment and condemnation of the prince. His execution was on the point of being carried into effect when the death of Francis II., on December 5th, 1560, completely changed the situa-

¹ See DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 349 ; ŠUSTA, I., 183.

² See ALBÈRI, I., 4, 132.

³ RANKE (*Französische Gesch.*, I², 211) does not trust Soriano, and thinks that the Cardinal "merely from ill-will and to some, extent of necessity" agreed to the "convocation of the deliberative assemblies." MARCKS, *Coligny*, 386, is of the same opinion. DEMBIŃSKI, in his dissertation upon the relations of France with the Holy See during the reign of Francis II. (see *Extrait du Bulletin de l'Acad. des Sciences de Cracovie*, February, 1890) has paid detailed attention to the attitude of Cardinal Guise towards the Holy See, but he has not been able quite to clear up the mystery. DEMBEŃSKI takes as his authority the correspondence of the French ambassador in Rome, Babou de la Bourdaisière, Bishop of Angoulême (see *F. franc. 16038, and V. Colbert 343, in the *Bibl. Nat. Paris* ; the edition published at Rheims in 1859 is incomplete and often incorrect). Cf. also the correspondence between Morone and Guise in EHSSES, VIII., 139 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*

⁴ See PHILIPPSON in *Flathes Weltgeschichte*, VII., 363.

tion.¹ Once more a boy ascended the throne, the ten year old Charles IX., but the helm of the state passed into the by no means strong hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici.

This remarkable woman made an impression upon the history of France which was as deep as it was unfortunate. She possessed all the good qualities and all the weaknesses of her family. Gifted, a lover of the arts and of pomp, and filled with an indefatigable energy, her conduct was always dominated by that uneasy, cautious Medici prudence which was so characteristic of her great-uncle, Leo X. Like that Pope, to whom she bore a strong personal resemblance, Catherine was extremely irresolute, and at the same time very timid and superstitious. A faithful disciple of Machiavelli, and a past mistress of untruthfulness, she did not shrink from the employment of the very worst means in order to maintain her supremacy. It has with reason been said of her that her subtlety consisted only in the constantly changing use of trifling measures and self-seeking intrigues. It was vain to seek for any strength in her, who was capable of changing her mind three times in a single day. She always preferred half-measures. Externally she acted for the most part as a Catholic, but the differences of religion did not really affect her mind at all. How far she was under the sceptical influence of her compatriot, Pietro Strozzi, would be difficult to say, but it is beyond doubt that she always subordinated, and without the least scruple, questions of religion to political considerations. In face of the dangers which threatened France from the fanaticism of the Huguenots and the ambition of the Guise, the regent, caring only for honour and power, and looked upon by her subjects as a foreigner, hoped best to maintain her supremacy by a policy of preserving a

¹ See RUBLE, II., 326 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*, 413 *seq.*, 425 *seq.* The news of the death of Francis II., which raised the hopes of the Calvinists (see MARCKS, Coligny, 422), cannot only have reached Rome on December 18, as SICKEL (Konzil, 153) maintains, because Pius IV. sent his condolences to Charles IX. as early as December 14; see RAYNALDUS, n. 83, 1560.

balance between the parties, following first one and then the opposite course, one day, as Aubigné says, pouring oil into the fire of the party feuds, and the next day water, aiming always at never allowing either of the opposing forces to secure a decisive advantage, using one against the other, and in this way ruling them both.¹

The new government began by a reaction against the former despotism of the Guise, who now leaned more strongly than before upon the strict Catholic party. Condé was pardoned, Navarre received again the office of Lieutenant-General, and Coligny his former dignities. The Calvinists drew great advantages from the changed state of affairs. As early as the end of January, 1561, in spite of the protests of the nuncio, Gualterio,² they obtained such concessions as the suspension of all judicial proceedings in matters of religion, and the abrogation of penalties already inflicted. After the appointment of Navarre to the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, they thought that they could look upon themselves as masters of the country districts. Numerous preachers flocked into France from Geneva, who were allowed without interference to attack and flout the Catholic religion in Paris and other cities.³ Very soon they even made their appearance at the royal court. Coligny brought a preacher with him to

¹ AUBIGNÉ, *Hist. Univ.*, 1626, I., 141. For the personality of Catherine de' Medici see, among contemporary writers, especially the report of the Venetian ambassadors Giov. Capello (1554) in ALBÈRI, I., 2, 280, Giov. Michiel (1561), *ibid.*, I., 3, 433 *seq.*, Mich. Soriano (1562) *ibid.*, I., 4, 143 *seq.* Giov. Corroero (1569), *ibid.*, 202 *seq.* Cf. BASCHET, *Dipl. Venet.*, 460 *seqq.*, 511 *seqq.*; SOLDAN, I., 385 *seq.*; RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, I², 305 *seq.*; V.³, 81 *seq.*; SEGESSER, I., 54 *seq.*; RUBLE, III., 34 *seq.*; 175; SCHOTT in *Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch.*, IV. (1887), 537 *seq.*; MARCKS, *Bayonne*, p. ix, xiii, 7 *seq.*, 11; DEFRANCE, *Catherine de Médicis. Ses astrologues et ses magiciens-envoûteurs*, Paris, 1911.

² Cf. RUBLE, III., 36; ŠUSTA, I., 171.

³ The deterioration in the state of affairs appears among other things in the reports of the Jesuit Broët to Lainez: see *Epist. P. Broëti*, 158 *seq.*, 166 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 172.

Fontainebleau, and Catherine suffered this; she even one fine day accompanied the young king and her other children to a sermon of this innovator. The nuncio tried to make a protest, but was not granted an audience.¹ In view of the danger of the apostasy of the royal house Francis de Guise and Montmorency put aside their former enmity and were joined by the Marshal de Saint-André. At Easter, April 6th, 1561, these three men formed themselves into a league known as the Triumvirate. In consequence of this Catherine drew even nearer to the Calvinist party, who were still further encouraged in their activities by an edict of toleration on April 19th. With growing indignation Gualterio observed the behaviour of the government, dictated as it was by weakness and fear. His reports to Rome, though quite in accordance with the truth, were described on the part of the French as being too pessimistic, and consequently the position of the nuncio became more and more difficult. It became altogether intolerable when Pius IV. shrank from taking the strong course of action against the French government which Gualterio recommended. The diplomatic Pope feared an open break with France, principally because this would have left him completely at the mercy of the arrogance of the Spanish king, which was already so galling. It was not by severity, but rather by mildness that the people in question were to be won over. Taking into consideration the vacillating character of Catherine de' Medici and of Navarre, it appeared to him that such a course of action offered the best chance of a change of French religious policy in favour of the French Catholics. In May, 1561, the recall of Gualterio and his replacement by Prospero Santa Croce, Bishop of Cismus, was decided upon.²

Pius IV. was in no small degree confirmed in this cautious policy by the behaviour of Navarre, who adapted his religious attitude to his political aims. While Francis II. was still

¹ See RUBLE, III., 69.

² See ŠUSTA, I., 31, 187, 189 *seq.*, 191 *seq.* For the correspondence of the nuncio Gualterio with the secret secretariate see ŠUSTA, I., lxii., *seq.* Constant has undertaken to deal with the French nunciature under Pius IV.

alive, the titular king of Navarre had sent to Rome, in the person of Pierre d'Albret, an envoy to pay homage to the Pope, and thus obtain recognition as a sovereign prince. On account of the opposition of the Spaniards the Pope had long deferred this recognition, but at length, on December 14th, 1560, he had received the *obedientia* of the King of Navarre at a public consistory in the Sala Regia.¹ It would appear that very little had been known in France about this occurrence. Navarre was able to retain his popularity with the Huguenots all the more easily because he was secretly assisting their aims. He made such far-reaching promises to the Queen of England that Elizabeth looked upon him as a sure ally. But at the approach of Easter the fickle prince retired to a monastery, and during Holy Week publicly received Communion, taking good care that his Catholic behaviour was reported to Rome by the nuncio.² At the same time he sent the skilful Pierre d'Albret back to the Curia, hoping that he would be received by Pius IV. as the permanent ambassador of Navarre, which would have involved a recognition on the part of the Pope of his claims to that kingdom. When, at the end of April, d'Albret arrived in the Eternal City, he found that, in consequence of a strong protest lodged by Juan de Ayala in the name of Philip II. against the consistory of December 14th, 1560, the situation had been entirely changed, and that Pius IV. had been forced to a skilful diplomatic volte-face. While it was hinted that the Pope intended to refrain from mixing himself up in this difficult question, an excuse was found for sending d'Albret back to France. He was told to hold out hopes to his master that a better opportunity would be found, and at the same time to pave the way in France for the sending of a Cardinal legate.³

It seemed to the Pope that the man best suited for this

¹ Cf. BONDONUS, 539; RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 85; RUBLE, III., 44 *seq.*

² See RUBLE, III., 42 *seq.*, 46, 130. Cf. HEIDENHAIN, Unionspolitik Philipps von Hessen, 181; ŠUSTA, I., 190.

³ See ŠUSTA, I., 190 *seq.* Cf. RUBLE, III., 47.

difficult mission would be Cardinal Ippolito d'Este.¹ This prince of the Church, who was as ambitious as he was wealthy, had, as the uncle of the Duke of Guise, and the cousin of the widowed Duchess Renée, been for many years on the best of terms with the kingdom of France, where he held many ecclesiastical benefices. The builder of the famous Villa d'Este at Tivoli was among the most brilliant figures in the College of Cardinals, and held an altogether exceptional position there.² An enthusiastic patron of the arts and of science, the son of Lucrezia Borgia was at the same time a diplomat of great ability, who was, moreover, intimately acquainted with French affairs. He fully shared the affection of his house for France, and in the last conclave had been the principal candidate of the then all-powerful Guise,³ though he was now on the side of those who had control of the government, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre. For this reason, as well as on account of the popularity which he enjoyed with the French people, he was in a quite exceptional way fitted for the mission now intended for him.⁴ As soon as Este had declared his readiness to undertake the task, which, in view of the ever-increasing confusion in the state of affairs in France, bristled with difficulties, Pius IV. burned with impatience to put his plan into execution. Even before the arrival of d'Albret in France,⁵ he had already,

¹ I found the first notification that Este had been chosen for a mission to France in a *despatch from the Florentine envoys of March 5, 1561 (State Archives, Florence, Medic., 3281).

² Cf. concerning him Vol. XI. of this work, p. 183, n. 2. See also A. BAUMGARTNER, *Gesch. der Weltlit.*, V., 267.

³ See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 8.

⁴ See the note drawn up on the basis of Este's memorandum in the State Archives, Modena, in ŠUSTA, I., 191. For Este's influence in France see G. Michiel in ALBÈRI, I., 3, 451 *seq.*; for his position in Rome, *ibid.*, II., 4, 143.

⁵ See the *letter of Arco, May 31, 1561 (Secret State Archives, Vienna), and that of Cardinal Gonzaga of May 31, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 196. An *Avviso di Roma of May 31, 1561, reports: "although he was taken ill on the 27, after the consistory, the Pope nevertheless, though still in bed, held a congregation on the 29, concerning Este's mission (Urb. 1039, p. 270b, Vatican Library).

on June 2nd, 1561, appointed Este as legate *de latere*.¹

The departure of Este, however, was delayed, partly on account of the necessary preparations, for he wished to make his appearance with the greatest possible pomp, and partly because it was necessary to wait for the consent of the French government. Instead of this there arrived, in the last week of June, a report from Gualterio of the 14th of that month, containing the news of the assembly of the French prelates which had been convoked for July 20th. Although the French government did not fail to send soothing assurances, the terrifying picture of a national council took possession of the imagination of Pius IV. He was convinced that the reasons alleged for this assembly, namely the preliminary discussions about the ecumenical Council, and the consideration of the liquidation of the debts of the crown, were merely a pretext. On June 26th Gualterio was charged to do all in his power to have the assembly postponed, at anyrate until the arrival of Este; if he could not succeed in doing this, he was to prevent any steps being taken in the assembly to the injury of the Catholic religion.² In a consistory on June 27th the report of the French nuncio was read, and the conclusion was arrived at that there was no definite reason for supposing that a national council was intended.³ Nevertheless the

¹ *Die lunae 2. Iunii 1561 fuit consistorium secretum in aula Constantini: . . . Descendit postea S. Stas ad res Galliae et pluribus rationibus ostendit, in quo malo statu reperirentur, dixi que quod pro honore Dei ac suo officio, ad quod etiam principes christiani eam hortati fuerant, decreverat mittere legatum a latere suo ad illud regnum direxisseque oculus atque mentem in rev. dom. Ippolitum cardinalem Ferrariensem, virum gravem, probum ac prudentem illiusque regni principibus gratum eumque de omnium rev. dominorum cardinalium consensu legatum ad eas partes deputavit. Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13). Cf. BONDONUS, 541; ŠUSTA, I., 195, 197; *Report of Fr. Tonina of June 4, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua).

² Cf. ŠUSTA, I., 38 seq., 203, 215.

³ See *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

departure of Este was hurried forward. He received the legatine cross on June 27th, and left the Eternal City on July 2nd.¹ His retinue was as splendid as that of a prince of the Church in the golden age of the Renaissance. His suite numbered more than 400 knights, while his own company of musicians added to the ostentatious display. Este also took with him several bishops, and the best canonists and theologians in the Curia, among whom, by the special order of the Pope, was the General of the Jesuits, Lainez.² Thus the representatives of Catholic reform had their place in the mission. Advisers of wide experience and of strict ecclesiastical views seemed all the more necessary in view of the difficulty of the problems which had to be dealt with in France, and also because the Cardinal, a true son of the Renaissance, was much more likely to be influenced by political than by religious considerations.

Cardinal Este travelled slowly by way of Siena, first of all to Florence, which he reached on July 13th, and where he had a conference with Cosimo I.; nor was the remainder of his journey at all hurried.³ The reason for this was not only

¹ The accounts of Bondonus are erroneous (p. 542). Cf. STEINHERZ, I., 267, 274, and the *letter of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, July 2, 1561: "Este only started to-day because couriers arrived from France" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The brief to Charles IX., dated June 28, concerning the mission of Este in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 84; *ibid.*, n. 85, the briefs to A. de Navarre and Condé. The brief to Duke Alfonso of June 28, 1561, in the State Archives, Modena, that to Renée of Ferrara in FONTANA, II., 562 *seq.* *Similar briefs to the King and the grandees of France, dated June 28, 1561, in Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. II, n. 154-77 (Papal Secret Archives). See also CIBRARIO, Lettere 59 *seq.*

² Cf. FOUQUERAY, I., 249. For Este's retinue see the *Avviso di Roma of July 2, 1561 (Urb. 1039, Vatican Library), as well as ŠUSTA, I., 41 *seq.*, 63, 234, and Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 281 *seq.* To the *report of Tonina of July 2, 1561, there is attached a list of those who accompanied Este on his journey (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

³ See ŠUSTA, I., 38, 216, 219, 221.

the great heat of the summer, but also the realization of the difficulty of his mission, and the hope that the complicated state of affairs in France would soon become clearer.

The object of Este's mission was to protect the interests of the Catholic Church in France, so seriously threatened by the weakness of the French government, by skilful diplomacy, and by winning over those in authority. His immediate object was to win over the influential but vacillating King of Navarre, to keep Catherine from making any further concessions to the innovators, and to guide her attempts to meet the religious crisis in the legitimate direction of an ecumenical Council, at the same time being very careful in all this to avoid anything which might lead to an open rupture. Even during the course of his journey the Cardinal showed himself as moderate and conciliatory as possible. He tried to show the King of Navarre into what an abyss of difficulties he would throw France by blindly pursuing his own private ends, and of what little value, in comparison with the power of the Catholics, were the hopes which he entertained of the help of England and Germany.¹

The news which came from France at first was not very encouraging. The government persisted in its projected assembly of the prelates, and even openly declared that the leaders of the Calvinists must be invited to be present ! But even if the optimistic view of the situation which, on the whole, had so far been held in the Curia had to be modified, fresh hopes were roused when news came of the edict of July, which contained several provisions favourable to the Catholics. It is true that there was little reason for satisfaction as far as the carrying out of these provisions was concerned,² and Gualterio reported that the government, in contradiction to the assurances which they had hitherto given, intended to allow the

¹ See LE LABOUREUR, *Mém. de Castelnau*, I., 729 ; ŠUSTA, I., lxxix, 216, 296. Cf. RUBLE, III., 164.

² See SICKEL, *Konzil*, 210 ; ŠUSTA, I., 66 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*, 220 *seq.* For the Edict of July, dated the 11, but only issued on the 30, see SOLDAN, I., 429 *seq.*; RUBLE, III., 103 *seq.*; HEIDENHAIN, *Unionspolitik*, 313.

discussion of the religious question at the assembly of the prelates. At the same time, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre, to whom it was of great importance to maintain the appearance of being good Catholics, were very lavish with every kind of promise. They sent friendly letters to the Pope, with the result that he again became reassured.¹ There was, however, but little justification for this, for the edict of July remained a dead letter.² On August 17th the Calvinist, Hugo Languet, wrote in triumph concerning it from Paris that the Papists had done nothing more by its means than to irritate the people they wished to be suppressed, so that these now did openly what they had before been accustomed to do in secret; in almost all the cities except Paris, sermons were preached, churches seized, images destroyed and relics of the saints burned.³

In order to appease the strict Catholics, and especially the professors of the Sorbonne, who even in May had strongly dissuaded the king from the idea of a national council, the following were stated to be the objects of the assembly of prelates: a preliminary consultation about the ecumenical Council, the appointment of the delegates who were to attend it, and the discussion of important matters relating to the Gallican church and the kingdom. That the government had other intentions, however, was shown by the edict of July 25th, which assured safe-conduct to Poissy to all French subjects, and therefore to the Calvinists as well, who wished to bring forward any matter concerning religion.⁴ There, at Poissy, close to St. Germain-en-Laye, where the court was in residence, the clergy were to assemble, while the nobles and the third estate were to meet at the neighbouring city of Pontoise. Only a part of the bishops went to Poissy, among them Odet de Châtillon, Montluc, Saint-Gelais and Caraccioli, who were all more or less openly inclined to Cal-

¹ See SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 208 *seq.*, ŠUSTA, I., 230, 234.

² See RUBLE, III., 103 *seq.*; SOLDAN, I., 433 *seq.*

³ LANGUETI Epist., II., 130, 137. SOLDAN, I., 433 *seq.*

⁴ See D'ARGENTRÉ. II., 192 *seq.*; SOLDAN, I., 437; FOURQUERAY, I., 250 *seq.*

vinism.¹ To these the Cardinals who were present formed a counterpoise, namely, Tournon, Armagnac and Guise. The assembly was opened on July 31st by the chancellor, L'Hôpital, who in the name of the king openly described it as a national council, which, far better than a general council, composed for the most part of foreigners, would be able, by means of "a reform of morals and doctrine" to afford relief to the difficulties of France. Speaking of the adherents of the new religion, he declared that it was the duty of the assembly not to condemn them in advance, but to welcome them kindly.²

While the nuncio Gualterio was making bitter complaints to Catherine and Navarre concerning this line of action, which was altogether at variance with that hitherto followed by the government,³ the majority of the bishops, under the leadership of Cardinal Tournon, had taken up a definite stand. They repudiated the idea of a national council, and declared that, always supposing that there would be no discussion of doctrine, they could only take part in the deliberations concerning the removal of abuses; they were quite determined to maintain the obedience which they owed to the Pope.

To this double-dealing, so dear to the French government, with regard to the assembly of prelates at Poissy, were added other acts which were calculated more and more to destroy the hopes which the sanguine temperament of Pius IV. led him to entertain. In spite of her attempts to conceal the real objects of her policy, Catherine de' Medici found that the true state of affairs was nearly always reported to Rome. This could only have been done by the nuncio Gualterio, and since the Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, was also in the habit of sending frequent dispatches to Rome, she suspected a secret understanding between them. In order to discover

¹ Cf. DESJARDINS, III. 464; A. PASCAL, Antonio Caracciolo, Vescovo di Troyes, Roma, 1915.

² See SOLDAN, I., 439; *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, I., 604.

³ See the report of Gualterio of August 7, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 227 *seq.*

this she caused the diplomatic dispatches to be intercepted and opened! Pius IV. loudly complained in consistory at this shameful proceeding, and threatened that he would no longer receive the French ambassador unless the stolen correspondence was restored.¹ Soon more bad news arrived from France; at Pontoise the nobles and the third estate had demanded the cessation of all persecution of the Calvinists, and the holding of a national council, and, in order to meet the financial crisis, they gave their support to a confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues.² The government showed itself well disposed towards this last proposal, and, moreover, persisted in its plan of abolishing the first-fruits, while it made difficulties about sending any prelates to Trent. In this way the assembly at Poissy developed into a religious conference with the Calvinists. Preachers, for the most part apostate Catholics, arrived from all parts; on August 23rd, Theodore Beza, Calvin's principal colleague, arrived at the court of St. Germain-en-Laye, and the reception accorded to him could not have been more ceremonious had he been the Pope himself. He was at once allowed to preach at the house of Condé, and in the evening Navarre took him to Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX., who received him very graciously. During the days that followed, Beza, as well as others, were allowed to preach at the royal palace before a large gathering of the nobility, as well as to hold a Calvinist service. All this was the cause of great anxiety to the Spanish ambassador, who felt as though he were at Geneva.³

It can hardly be wondered at, therefore, that in spite of the protests of the Sorbonne a religious conference was opened under the presidency of the young king on September 9th in

¹ Pius IV., who wished to avoid a rupture with France "at any cost," allowed himself to be pacified more easily than Spain, so that Charles IX. was obliged to disavow his mother's action. See RUBLE, III., 163 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 239.

² See SOLDAN, I., 464 *seq.*

³ See the reports of Chantonnay in Mém. de Condé, II., 16 *seq.* Cf. SOLDAN, I., 470.

the refectory of the Dominicans at Poissy.¹ Beza spoke first in the name of the twelve Calvinist preachers. He began with an emotional prayer, and then proceeded to explain, at first with great circumspection, the new system of doctrine. It was only when he came to the doctrine of the Eucharist that he came out in his true colours by saying : " The Body of Christ is as far removed from the consecrated bread as heaven is from earth." At these words loud murmurings broke out through all the assembly ; even the adherents of the new religion were covered with confusion, while Coligny covered his face with his hands, and Cardinal Tournon turned to the queen, crying out excitedly : " Is it possible that Your Majesty can tolerate such a blasphemy ? " ² His appeal was in vain, and Catherine allowed Beza to finish his discourse. After Tournon had demanded a copy of the speech, so that he might frame his reply, the assembly broke up in great excitement.

At the second sitting, on September 16th, Cardinal Guise refuted the doctrines set forth by Beza in a brilliant speech, calling attention with great skill to the contradictions between the Calvinists and the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. The Cardinal's speech was couched in extremely measured terms, so that it could not fail to make a great impression on the moderate party, though as far as the matter was concerned he held firmly to the Catholic standpoint. On September 12th the government had succeeded in obtaining from the Parliament of Paris the registration of the great edict of

¹ Cf. *Mém. de Condé*, II., 490 *seq.*; BOSSUET, *Hist. des variat.*, IX., 90 *seq.*; HENRY, II., 497 *seq.*; BAUM, *Beza*, II., 147 *seqq.*; SOLDAN, I., 467 *seqq.*; MOURGUES (*Strasbourg*, 1859) ; KLIPFFEL (*Paris*, 1867) ; RUBLE, III., 154 *seq.*; 176 *seq.*, and *Mém. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris*, XVI. (1890), 1 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, 594 *seq.*; LAVISSE, *Hist. de France*, VI., 1, 47 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, I., 251 *seq.* See also the letter of Polanco in *Précis hist.*, 1889, 71 *seq.*; THOMPSON, 106 *seq.* See also HAUSER, *Sources*, III., 172.

² For this incident *cf.* the reports of the envoys of Florence (DESJARDINS, III., 462), and Venice (RUBLE, III., 180), as well as the *Avviso da Parigi di 13 Ottobre*, 1561, in *Riv. Cristiana*, III., 363.

Orleans of January 31st, the edict which abolished the power of the Pope in the conferring of French benefices, and forbade the sending of first-fruits and other monies to Rome.¹

Such was the state of affairs when at last, on September 19th, Cardinal Este, sent to act as mediator, arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye.² His reception at the court was courteous, but cold. Although Este had, through an intermediary, given tranquillizing assurances on the subject of his faculties, the chancellor, L'Hôpital, refused to give them the customary sanction by affixing to them the seal of state, on the ground that they were a violation of the edict of Orleans. Este did not allow himself to be intimidated by this set-back. Like the skilled diplomatist he was he sought to attain his ends by studious moderation. Making a virtue of necessity, he so completely shut his eyes to the dangerous policy of Catherine and the questionable behaviour of Navarre as to draw down upon himself the strong blame of the strict Catholics, who from the first had regarded him with distrust and dislike. Cardinals Guise and Tournon likewise feared a curtailment of their own powers. All the party of the Guise, as well as the Spanish ambassador, were strongly opposed to the policy of moderation pursued in Rome, which endangered their own aims. They, as well as the nuncio Gualterio, were convinced that Catholic interests could only be safeguarded by the fall of the existing government, the want of sincerity and double-dealing of which filled them with indignation.³ Their remonstrances, in conjunction with the bad impression given by recent events, had at last caused Pius IV. himself to hesitate, and at the end of

¹ See RUBLE, III., 153 *seq.* ŠUSTA, I., 88.

² See RUBLE, III., 184 ; ŠUSTA, I., 295. For the correspondence of Este with the secret secretariate see the exhaustive account given by ŠUSTA, I., lxxix., *seq.*, to which I have nothing to add except that the Chigi Library in Rome (Codex M—I—5) contains a copy of the manuscript in the State Archives, Modena, which, like that in the Royal Library, Berlin (*Inf. polit., 39), only goes down to July 28, 1562.

³ See ŠUSTA, I., 209, 231, 232-4, 296.

October he seemed to have decided to abandon the conciliatory policy which he had so far followed.¹

Cardinal Este, however, did not allow himself to be deterred from his policy of moderation either by the changed attitude of the Pope or by the difficulties which he met with in France. He seemed to be willing to overlook everything : the equivocal behaviour of Navarre, the religious conference, and the toleration of Calvinism. From the first he had made it clear that he had come to show mildness, and to use gentle remedies against the disease.² In order to gain ground, his first care was to obtain the recognition of his faculties, by which the edict of Orleans would be completely set aside.³ While the disentanglement of this problem was long delayed, he very soon secured the abandonment of the publicity which had hitherto been accorded to the religious conference ; henceforward the king took no further part in its sittings. The very ambiguous formula concerning the Holy Eucharist adopted on September 29th gave great pleasure at the court, but was rejected by the Sorbonne. On October 9th the assembly of the prelates at Poissy proposed the banishment of all the preachers who should refuse to subscribe to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist ; on the other hand they took upon themselves for the next sixteen years the payment of seventeen million livres for the liquidation of the debts of the state. On the strength of this the government promised to maintain the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom.⁴

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 88 *seq.* Cf. SICKEL, Konzil, 225. For the state of opinion in the Curia see an *Avviso di Roma, Oct. II, 1561 (Urb. 1033, p. 302b, Vatican Library), and a *letter from Caligari to Commendone dated Rome, October 11, 1561, in which he says : " Le cose di Francia vanno malissimo et quasi qui si hanno per disperate : admettono gl'heresiarchi non solo in colloquio ma alle prediche publiche. Ancora non s'intende che la gionta del logato habbia operata cosa di momento." (Lett. di princ., XXIII. 76, Papal Secret Archives.).

² See HILLIGER, Katharina, 310 *seq.*

³ See RUBLE, III., 206, 212 ; ŠUSTA, I., 298.

⁴ See SOLDAN, I., 500 *seq.*, 512 *seq.* RUBLE, III., 186 *seq.* Cf. also CAUCHIE, Les assemblées du clergé en France, in the Revue des sciences philos. et théol., II., 74-95.

At the same time it approved, at any rate in appearance, the sending of delegates to the Council of Trent. This was due, not only to the pressure of Este, but also to the threatening attitude of Philip II., who in the middle of October caused Catherine to be informed that this was the last time he would urge her to give up her policy of toleration of the Calvinists, and to enter upon one of stern repression ; in that case she could count upon his assistance, but otherwise he must give it to those who were asking for it in order to preserve the old religion, since the protestantizing of France exposed both the Netherlands and Spain to danger.¹

Catherine, who feared nothing so much as intervention on the part of Spain, was much alarmed at this, and on October 18th, she issued orders for the restitution of all the churches which had been seized by the Calvinists, put an end to the negotiations for a reunion, which were already hopeless, and solemnly promised that she would cause a good number of prelates, as well as a special envoy from herself, to go to the Council.² At last Este, in spite of the refusal of L'Hôpital, obtained the recognition of his faculties by their being stamped with the seal of state.³ It was not until he had won this success that he sent a report to the Pope by Abbot Niquet. Pius IV., however, trusted the turn which affairs had taken in France all the less since the French ambassador had presented a petition for the granting of the chalice to the laity.⁴ Niquet, who was eagerly awaited in Rome, did not arrive until November 14th, 1561. In the name of Este he begged for the continuation of the policy so far adopted, and of the negotiations to win over Navarre ; at the same time he advised that such concessions as that of the chalice for the laity should be granted, since force would be of no avail at all. The detailed account which the representative of Este gave of the state

¹ See HILLIGER, Katharina, 251 ; SOLDAN, I., 518 ; RUBLE, III., 294 *seq.* ŠUSTA, I., 262-4.

² See Mém. de Condé, II., 520 ; SOLDAN, I., 524 *seq.* ŠUSTA, I., 297.

³ See RUBLE, III., 213 ; Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, I., 247.

⁴ See LE PLAT, IV., 727 *seq.* ŠUSTA, I., 95.

of affairs in France held out but little prospect of any change for the better.¹ The mildness and conciliatory attitude of the government only roused the Calvinists to still greater hatred of the "idolators," as they called the Catholics. It seemed as though they intended to make it clear to the latter that they would not be satisfied with any mere toleration, but that they aimed at the complete overthrow of the Catholic religion in France. It was just at this moment that the acts of violence against the Catholics in many different parts of the country were multiplied. In many cities they were insulted and ill-treated, their images and relics burned, here and there churches were destroyed, priests and monks driven out, and sometimes even killed, or, as in Normandy, cruelly mutilated by the cutting off of their ears. The worst outrages occurred in the southern provinces, where in several places the Catholic worship was altogether suppressed.² The new religion had begun to penetrate even into the Papal territory at Carpentras.³

All this was bound to confirm Pius IV. in his conviction that the conciliatory policy of the past must be abandoned. Although he had so far defended Cardinal Este against the attacks of the Guise and the Spaniards, he now began to lend an ear to the accusations brought against him.⁴ The displeasure of the Pope was still further increased by news

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 99, 298. Cf. also the *report of Serristori dated Rome, November 14, 1561 (State Archives, Florence). The letter from Este to Pius IV. taken by Niquet, of November 4, 1561, in SALA, III, 99 *seq.*

² See DÖLLINGER, Kirchengesch., 531 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 88; DESJARDINS, III., 466; BAGUENAUT DE PUCHESSE, Morvillier, 137 *seq.* For the cutting off of ears see the Paris report of October 13, 1561, published from the State Archives, Modena, in Riv. Cristiana, III., 363.

³ See the *report of Fr. Tonina dated Rome, November 19, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The Pope sent money for the defence of the Papal territory against a surprise attack on the part of the Huguenots; see ŠUSTA, I., 333.

⁴ See ŠUSTA, I., 332; cf. PALLAVICINI, 15, 14, 8.

which arrived on November 29th, which caused such consternation on all sides that no less a person than Morone demanded the recall of Este.¹ In his zeal to win over Navarre, Este, despite the protests of Tournon, allowed himself to be induced, at the invitation of Jeanne d'Albert and Catherine de' Medici, to be present at the sermon of a Calvinist, an apostate Franciscan!² It availed the Cardinal very little that, in a detailed report, and with all the ingenuity of a true son of the Renaissance, he represented his conduct as an innocent act of courtesy to the two queens, who in return for his compliance had, together with Navarre, Condé and other Huguenots, assisted at the Catholic sermon preached by the court chaplain.³

When, at the beginning of 1562, Niquet left Rome, he was given a letter for Este which made it perfectly clear that Pius IV. did not intend to allow questions of religion to be treated from the political point of view. It was altogether unfitting, it stated,⁴ that the Cardinal legate should have assisted at the sermon in question: very few people could be aware that this step had been taken with the best intentions and with forethought, while the scandal given was patent to all Catholics in France as well as abroad; such a thing must never take place again. Then the Pope went on in his letter to make bitter complaints of the behaviour of the French government, which put into force all the edicts issued in favour of the Huguenots, while those in favour of the Catholics remained a dead letter. He also complained of the demand

¹ Cf. ŠUSTA, IV., 373.

² This event is minutely described by Chantonay (*letter to Philip II., November 13, 1561, National Archives, Paris; used by RUBLE, III., 213 *seq.*), and by the envoy of Frederick the Pious (KLUCKHOHN, Briefe, II., 221; cf. DELABORDE, *Les protest. à la cour de St. Germain*, 70). Cf. also ŠUSTA, I., 112, 307; II., 373; IV., 37.

³ See the letters of Este to Borromeo of November 12 to 15, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 303 *seq.*

⁴ Pius IV., to Este, dated Rome, the beginning of January, 1562, in ŠUSTA, I., 329 *seq.*

for the chalice for the laity which had been made by the French ambassador in Rome, of the delay in sending representatives to the Council of Trent, and of the edict of Orleans. As long as the latter remained in force, the Pope must consider the concordat and all indults as being in abeyance. The legate must make it clear to the King of Navarre that his wishes could only be met on the condition of his taking up a definitely Catholic position. As to the line of action to be followed in the future, Pius IV. did not conceal the fact that it no longer seemed wise to him to adopt or follow a policy of conciliation. The legate must make strong protests, without, however, coming to an actual breach. An autograph postscript added to the letter was highly significant ; this left it open to Este to resign his legation under certain circumstances ; in such a case he was to leave everything in the hands of Cardinal Tournon and the new nuncio, Santa Croce, who had been in France since October.¹

As the Pope again later on repeatedly showed his displeasure at the conduct of Este, the latter sought in every possible way to justify himself. In doing this he especially blamed the Catholics who thronged about the Guise, from whom the Church had little to hope ; on the other hand he took considerable pains to excuse the behaviour of Catherine. If the disturbances in France had been of a purely religious nature, so Este maintained, another line of action might have been advisable, but he had become more and more convinced that religion was only made a pretext for the furtherance of private ends ; therefore the situation did not seem to him to be so hopeless as his enemies made out. It would be easy to precipitate a rupture, but nothing but mildness would do

¹ The reports of the nunciature of Santa Croce are published only very partially, and not always accurately, by AYMON, *Synodes nationaux* (La Haye, 1710), and CIMBER-DANJON, *Arch. curieuses*, I., 6. The Roman collections of codices contain many others, especially the Papal Secret Archives, *Bibl. Pia 133, and *Nunziat. div. 32 ; see ŠUSTA, I., lxxvi *seq.* See *ibid.* for the "Proposte" ; cf. II., 383, for the peculiar position of Santa Croce as nuncio during the legation of Este.

any good. It was only in this way that he had been able to entertain any hopes of obtaining the recognition of his faculties, and of the sending of representatives to Trent.¹

It was quite true that Este could boast of success in these two matters.² He was also destined to be successful in winning over Navarre and in obtaining the abrogation of the prohibition of the first-fruits, but in the thing that mattered most, the attitude of Catherine towards the Calvinists, things remained as they were. The queen held firm to her plan of maintaining peace by making concessions to the innovators, and of retaining the supreme power for herself by acting as mediator between the parties. Este assisted her in this, and hoped to win over Pius IV. to the concessions, while Catherine was determined to carry them out unaided by means of a religious conference.³ That she had no idea of keeping the promise which she had made to the clergy of maintaining the Catholic religion was shown by an edict published on January 24th, 1562, in the framing of which L'Hôpital plainly showed his conviction that in course of time the old and the new religions would be able to exist side by side in France.

The January edict gave the Calvinists the free right to practise their religion outside the cities, and only imposed on them the restitution of the churches which they had taken from the Catholics, while it enjoined on both parties to refrain

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 322 *seq.*, 327. Cf. PALLAVICINI, 15, 14, 8 *seq.* Two letters in which Este defends his conduct to the Bishop of Caserta are printed in *Lett. di princ.*, III., 256b.

² For the participation in the Council see Vol. XV. of this work, chap. VIII. The question of his faculties, about which the Paris Parliament specially made difficulties, was only settled in February, 1562, by a royal grant of approbation (*cf.* *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, I., 268; *RUBLE*, III., 220; ŠUSTA, I., 321, 324, 326; II., 397). Pius IV. exhorted him to use his faculties with prudence, advice which Este complied with; see ŠUSTA, I., 330; II., 396.

³ See the excellent estimate of the policy of Catherine made by ŠUSTA, I., 384.

from any acts of violence.¹ This edict was of "immense importance" for by it "the union of Church and State was broken."² The immediate consequence of this new concession was the outbreak of the first civil and religious war, which was to be followed by seven others. Even though at first the leaders of the Huguenots clamoured for the observance of the January edict, they had no intention of being contented with that. In this, as Beza clearly stated, they saw merely the first-fruits of victory;³ their conception of the old Church, as an idolatrous institution, implied its complete destruction.

For the present, however, by far the greater part of the nation clung to the faith of their fathers,⁴ which was so closely interwoven with the life and customs of the people. For centuries their ancestors, in noble emulation, had proclaimed in every part of the kingdom their piety, their wealth and their artistic sense by the erection of so many magnificent churches, and by adorning them within and without with the most splendid creations of sculpture and painting. These works of art symbolized for the people the doctrines of Christianity, and lifted them up above the miseries of earth to a better world. They formed at the same time their most cherished memorials, because almost every family of importance, and every confraternity and guild had provided the means for

¹ See *Mém. de Condé*, III., 8 *seq.* Cf. *SOLDAN*, I., 565 *seq.* *BAUER* in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI., 437 *seq.* *RUBLE*, IV., 17. To both Cardinal Este and Santa Croce Catherine had represented the contents of the edict as representing a victory for Catholicism (see *BALUZE-MANSI*, IV., 380; *Arch. cur.*, VI.). When Santa Croce made complaints about it, Catherine replied with vague evasions. See *ŠUSTA*, II., 378 *seq.*

² The opinion of *RANKE*, *Französische Gesch.*, I², 235, 239. Cf. *GEUËR*, *Die Kirchenpolitik des M. de l'Hospital*, 38; *PHILIPPSON* in *Flathes Weltgeschichte*, IV., 366.

³ See *BAUM*, *Beza*, II., App. 156. Calvin was of opinion that so long as the freedom promised in the edict remained in force the Papacy would be shaken to pieces. See *HENRY*, III., 523; *SOLDAN*, I., 568 *seq.*

⁴ See *RANKE*, *Französische Gesch.*, I., ² 240. Cf. *PALANDRI*, 100.

some artistic foundation, or for an altar, a statue, or a stained glass window.

It is easy to imagine what excitement and bitterness was caused when the followers of Calvin, ignoring all prohibitions, sacked, destroyed and pulled down churches and convents wherever they could ! Nor did they stop at that. Their minds inflamed with the fantastic idea that they were called upon to adopt the rôle of the prophets of the Old Testament when face to face with pagan idolatry, they proceeded to attack the persons of the Catholics, wounding and even killing them. During the autumn of 1561 at Montpellier all the sixty churches and convents in the city were sacked, and 150 priests and monks put to the sword. A similar attack on the churches and convents was made at Nîmes in December ; the statues and relics were burned on a pyre in front of the cathedral, and after dancing round it, crying out that they would have neither mass nor idols nor idolators, the new religionists set themselves to pillage the churches in the neighbourhood. At Montauban the Poor Clares especially suffered ; their convent was burned and the defenceless sisters were exposed half naked to the insults of the people, who advised them to get married. In some cities the Catholic worship was entirely suppressed. The preachers of the new religion incited their followers to these acts of violence, and deliberately planned them in their assemblies. For example the reformed consistory at Castres ordered, in December, 1561, the captain of the city forcibly to take everyone who appeared in the streets to the sermons ; in carrying out this order several priests were dragged from the very altar and taken there ; nor did twenty inmates of the convent of the Poor Clares fare any better.¹ It was while the discussions concerning the edict of January were in progress that news came from Beza's city that after the terrible destruction of the cathedral there the Huguenots had forcibly

¹ See VAISSETTE, *Hist. de Languedoc*, V., 584 *seq.*, 591 *seq.*; DÖLLINGER, *Kirchengesch.*, 532 *seq.* ; ANQUETIL, 126 *seq.* Cf. PICOT, I., 10 *seq.* GAUDENTIUS, 110 *seq.* ; DE MEAUX, 85 ; MERKI, 389 *seq.*

driven away all the priests.¹ Not content with destroying the objects of veneration, such as the images, here and there, as for example at Montpellier, their fury was directed against the dead, whose graves were profaned, merely out of hatred for the religion which they had professed.² If it is said that all this was merely by way of reprisal, and that the Calvinists only gave as they had received, it may be replied that while this is no doubt true in some cases, as for example at Carcassonne, where the Catholics took a bloody revenge,³ in the majority of cases it was the Catholics who were the injured party, and the victims of a system which aimed at the abolition of "idolatry" at all costs. The very fact that there were still many Catholics was looked upon by the Huguenots as a challenge. The violence of the Huguenots, which grew even more extreme during the course of the religious wars could only astonish those who were still wavering. What sort of religion, people asked themselves, can these men have, who profess to understand the Gospel better than anyone else? Where has Christ ordered men to despoil their neighbour and shed his blood?⁴ The thing which above all caused bitter feeling was the Huguenots' lust for sacrilege, which not only destroyed images, crucifixes and relics, but led to the most revolting crimes against what the Catholics regarded as their most holy and precious possession, the Holy Eucharist. At Nîmes, Paris, and elsewhere, after the breaking open of the tabernacles, the sacred host was burned and trampled under foot.⁵

The behaviour of the Huguenots after the appearance of the edict of January could not but increase the exasperation of

¹ Cf. BAUM, Beza, II., App. 156. In January, 1562, in Gascony a priest could not be found within 40 miles. POLENZ, II., 278 *seq.*

² See VAISSETTE, V., 586.

³ See DE MEAUX, 86 *seq.*

⁴ RANKE (Papste, II.,⁸ 41) quotes these words without giving their source: they are to be found in the report of Correro in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 186.

⁵ See VAISSETTE, V., 592. Cf. DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 533 *seq.* DEJARDINS, III., 454, 469; POLENZ, II., 88.

the Catholics, and confirm them in their opposition to that enactment.¹ In the past the innovators had refused obedience to edicts which were unfavourable to them, but they now with all the more zeal insisted on a strict observance of the edict of January on the part of the Catholics, though they themselves paid no attention to the limitations which it imposed on them. As before they continued to hold their services, even in the cities, and as before they continued to allow themselves every kind of act of violence.² That their aim was the total abolition of the Catholic Church was shown by the decision arrived at in a synod held by 70 preachers at Nîmes in February, 1562, to destroy all the churches in the city and diocese, and to compel the Catholics to accept Calvinism. In conformity with this decision, on February 23rd, all the priests who still remained were driven out, and the work of destroying the churches begun by the burning of the cathedral.³

The first signs of a definite Catholic reaction appeared in Paris, which had already become the true capital of France. The Duke of Guise repaired thither, at the invitation of no less a person than Navarre, who now fulfilled the hopes of Este, and trusting in the deceitful promises of Philip, openly joined the Catholic party. This man, whom the Huguenots had so long looked upon as their leader, now openly expressed himself in favour of the introduction of the Inquisition into France!⁴

¹ They were led in Rome to look for an improvement in the state of affairs from this opposition: see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma, dated Rome, March 11, 1562 (State Archives, Naples. C. Farnes. 763).

² See VAISSETTE, V., 594; SICKEL, Konzil, 261.

³ See VAISSETTE, V., 596.

⁴ See the report of Este of March 3, 1562, in SALA, III., 133. For the winning over of Navarre to the Catholic side, which confirmed Este's conviction as to the ultimate success of his procedure, see RUBLE, III., 311 *seq.* ŠUSTA, II., 374, 390, 390, 419, 430. On March 15, 1562, Pius IV. expressed to the legate his satisfaction, and encouraged him to remain in France (see ŠUSTA, II., 413 *seq.*). The Papal brief to Navarre of April 23, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 141.

On March 1st at Vassy in Champagne, the followers of Guise came to blows with the Huguenots of that place, and sixty of the latter were killed. Guise had not ordered this butchery, and it is open to doubt to what extent the Calvinists, who, in defiance of the January edict, continued to hold their services at Vassy, had provoked the conflict.¹ This chance encounter was disastrous because, in the existing state of excitement, it was looked upon as intentional, and, as De Thou says, gave, as it were, the signal for the outbreak of civil and religious war. The attempt of Condé to seize the king failed; the Guise anticipated him by persuading the still hesitating Queen-Mother by prayers and threats to return with her son to Paris. Condé thereupon hastened to Orleans and called upon the whole Calvinist body to rise up in arms. In a short time the whole country was under arms, and the civil war had begun. The Huguenots had asked their preachers whether it was lawful for them to take up arms, and these decided that "it was not only lawful, but their duty to do so, in order to free the king and the queen from the power of the Guise, to defend religion, and to uphold the edicts which had been so solemnly promulgated."² It might have been thought from this that the whole aim of the Huguenots was the defence of the edict of January; there can, however, be no question of this. Beza and Calvin thought that their work would only be completed and assured when the ancient Church in France had been

¹ That Guise was quite innocent in this affair is clear from the trustworthy report in EBELING, *Archivalische Beiträge zur Gesch. Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1872, n. 4, to the importance of which LOSSEN has called attention in the *Theol. Litt.-Blatt* of Bonn, 1873, 473, at the same time showing that RANKE (*Französische Gesch.*, I.², 245) attaches too much importance to the incident. Cf. also *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, II., 510 *seq.*; XI., 499 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 87. See further, ŠUSTA, II., 405; *Hist. Zeitschrift*, C., 678; THOMPSON, 134 *seq.*

² See RANKE, *Französische Gesch.*, I.², 250; DÖLLINGER, *Kirchengesch.*, 535 *seqq.* Cf. CARDAUNS, *Die Lehre vom Widerstandsrecht des Volkes gegen die rechtmässige Obrigkeit im Luthertum und im Calvinismus des 16. Jahrh.*, Bonn, 1903, 54.

destroyed. Any toleration of what the Huguenots called idolatry was contrary to their principles ; they believed that they were called by God to purge the country from " the sons of Satan." But the Catholics were just as resolved to defend their religion against the threatened destruction, and their sanctuaries from pillage and fire.¹ Both parties knew well that everything was at stake. They therefore fought with a bitterness and cruelty that is unparalleled.² Catherine was forced against her will to take part in the war, but if she took up her position on the side of the Catholics this was principally in order that she might keep the management of that party in her own hands.³

The civil and religious war in France soon took on an international character, for upon its result depended the religious future of western Europe. The Huguenots obtained help from Protestant Germany and England, and the Catholics from Spain and the Pope. Queen Elizabeth only gave her help after the Huguenots had traitorously⁴ given over Le Havre, the finest port in the north of France, into her hands. Philip II. and the Pope wished to send troops, but Catherine preferred help in money.

After the arrival in Rome (May 10th) of the Abbot Niquet with the request of the French government for help in the war against Condé, long negotiations followed as to the amount to be paid, and the manner and conditions of the payment which Pius IV. imposed.⁵ The result, which was communicated to the Cardinals on May 27th, was as follows : the Pope, in spite of his serious financial straits, was prepared to make a gift of 100,000 scudi, and to make a loan of a similar sum.

¹ See SISMONDI, XIII., 446 ; XIV., 1 ; Katholik, 1863, II., 248 ; BAUER in Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, II., 513 *seq.*

² Cf. ANQUETIL, 124 *seq.*, 151 *seq.* For the misdeeds of Fabr. Serbelloni, the commandant of Avignon, see POLENZ, III., 199 *seq.*

³ See HILLIGER, Katharina, 255.

⁴ Cf. the strong words of POLENZ, II., 156. See further MARCH-AND in Rev. des quest. histor., LXXVII. (1905), 101 *seq.*

⁵ See SICKEL, Konzil, 308 *seq.* Cf. ŠUSTA, II., 435, 444 *seq.*, 450, 455.

25,000 scudi were to be paid at once, and the remainder within three months, but only after the fulfilment of the following conditions: the withdrawal of all the edicts in favour of the Huguenots, as well as of the anti-papal ordinances of that of Orleans, the banishment from the court of all open or secret Calvinists, and especially of the chancellor, L'Hôpital, the protection of Avignon, and the maintenance of the concordats and the Papal rights in France.¹

The task of securing the acceptance of these conditions, which were based upon a well-founded distrust of Catherine's sincerity, devolved upon Cardinal Este. As the war was urgent, Cardinal Guise insisted upon the immediate payment of the 25,000 scudi, which were of more importance in view of the pressing need of money, than would be a million later on. Este yielded to his insistence and paid the first instalment without securing the fulfilment of the conditions imposed by Pius IV.² The Cardinal also gave 2000 scudi of his own, which he had with difficulty borrowed at 10 per cent.³

While the Pope held out to the French government the hope of financial aid he also had in view, on account of the critical state of affairs in France, another plan, which had been suggested to him by Cosimo I. In a letter of May 11th, Cosimo proposed, in order to save France, the formation of a great Catholic league, in which Spain and the Italian states, as well as the Pope, should join. Pius IV., who had already had some such idea in his mind, eagerly welcomed the proposal, but he found little inclination, either at Madrid or Venice, to enter upon so costly and far-reaching an undertaking.⁴

¹ See ŠUSTA, II., 463 *seq.*

² See his report of July 5, 1562, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 425 *seq.*, and ŠUSTA, II., 493, 500.

³ See his report of May 8, 1562, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 409.

⁴ See SICKEL, Konzil, 307 *seq.*, 340, and especially ŠUSTA, II., 480 *seq.*, also 169, 195 *seq.*, 198, 228, 512, 521 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, I., 261 *seq.*, for similar projects in the autumn of 1561. How much inclined the impulsive character of Pius IV. was to quick and decisive measures was to be seen even at the beginning of his pontificate, when he took into consideration the plan of the Duke

The plan of sending auxiliary troops to France, with which Cardinal Altemps was to have been sent as legate, was shipwrecked owing to the opposition of Catherine de' Medici.¹ It was no less painful for the Pope that he met with the gravest difficulties in securing the conditions which he had imposed on the French government in return for his financial aid. While Catherine at anyrate promised the withdrawal of the edict of Orleans, that is to say as far as the restoration of the first-fruits was concerned, she absolutely refused to dismiss the chancellor, who, she maintained, was a good Catholic. At the beginning of August, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Auxerre, was sent to Rome to negotiate for less severe conditions, and since Este also expressed himself in favour of their mitigation, at the beginning of September Pius IV. consented to a partial alteration. The principal demands which he now made were : the suppression of the Huguenots, the restoration of the first-fruits, and the promotion of the Council.² The French government still hesitated to accept these terms, so that the Pope began to fear that he had been deceived. His determination to adhere to the above-mentioned demands hardened when the news came that it was the intention of the French to raise the question of the first-fruits at the Council, and that Catherine refused to forbid this.³ On November 21st, 1562, Cardinal Este had declared that the withdrawal of the clauses in the edict of Orleans which referred to the first fruits and preventions, was imminent, but it was not until January, 1563, that he received the royal patent on the matter. In consequence of this Este handed over to the French government a bill of exchange for

of Savoy of forming a league for the conquest of Geneva, only to abandon it in the following year. See SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 51 *seq.*, 175 *seq.* Venez. Depeschen, III., 182 *seq.* Cf. SOLDAN, I., 333.

¹ Cf. ŠUSTA, II., 195 *seq.* Again in the consistory of October 25, 1564, Pius IV. lamented the rejection of his proposal ; see *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

² See ŠUSTA, II., 502, 516 *seq.*, 520, 528 *seq.*, 531 *seq.*

³ See ŠUSTA, III., 94 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*, 420 *seq.*, 454 *seq.*, 463, 476.

40,000 scudi of the subsidy,¹ a course which was approved by the Pope, who had now made the single condition that if Catherine entered into any agreement with the Huguenots which was harmful to the Catholics, the money should not be paid. When the instructions to this effect, which are dated January 15th, were sent to Este,² Rome was in a state of jubilation over the defeat which the Guise, with the help of the Spaniards, had inflicted on the Huguenots on December 19th, 1562, near Dreux. On January 3rd, 1563, a solemn mass of thanksgiving for this happy event was sung at S. Spirito.³ Immediately afterwards Pius IV. sent letters to the principal French Catholics, in which he exhorted them to profit by the success which they had won.⁴

In the meantime Francis de Guise had commenced the siege of Orleans, which was the principal stronghold of the Huguenots. He expected by the capture of this city to paralyse the power of the enemy and to put an end to the terrible civil war. But while he was engaged upon this plan he was mortally wounded by a Huguenot assassin on February 18th, 1563. The leaders of the Huguenots loudly praised this crime.⁵ Guise died a few days later, and his death was

¹ See GRISAR, *Disput.*, I., 454; ŠUSTA, III., 480. For the two medals relating to the assistance given to France see BONANNI, I., 285 *seq.*, 288 *seq.*

² See ŠUSTA, IV., 480.

³ See Bondonus, 544 (*Bull. Vatic.*, III., 49 *seq.*, Roma, 1752). ŠUSTA, III., 152 *seq.*, 157, 165, 474 *seq.*, 481, 483 *seq.* According to the report of Jules (in LE PLAT, V., 561) Pius IV. feared lest the victory might strengthen the opposition of the French bishops at Trent. The deciding factor at Dreux were the mercenary troops of the Catholic Swiss Cantons. See SEGESSER, I., 249. Cf. E. LENZ, *Die Schlacht bei Dreux*, Giessen, 1915.

⁴ See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 2.

⁵ See PAULUS in *Histor. Jahrb.*, XXVI., 190. RUBLE (*L'assassinat de Fr. Guise*, Paris, 1898) pronounces against the opinion of MARCKS as to the culpability of Coligny (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXII., 42 *seq.*). WHITEHEAD (*Coligny*, London, 1904) defends it. For MERKI, Coligny, 309 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, see *Liter. Rundschau*, 1912, 432 *seq.* Cf. also THOMPSON, 188 *seq.*

an irreparable loss to the Catholics,¹ who were now without a leader, Marshal Saint-André, as well as Navarre, having died some time previously.² Montmorency was a prisoner, and Cardinal Guise was at the Council of Trent. Then Catherine, in spite of the threats and protests of Philip II.,³ renewed her negotiations for a compromise; the Prince of Condé she won over by the wiles and artifices of a lady of the court.⁴ Under Catherine's influence, Condé and Montmorency, who had been set at liberty, concluded a treaty on March 12th, which was published on the 19th by Charles IX. under the name of the edict of Amboise. According to this the Huguenot nobles received, besides a general amnesty, full liberty to practise their religion for themselves and their families, and to some extent for their subjects. Moreover, in cities where the Calvinist worship had been in use up to March 9th, it was to be allowed to continue, and further, the reformed worship was to be allowed in one city in each administrative district, with the exception of Paris, and those places where the court was in residence.⁵

Nobody was satisfied with this new agreement except Catherine, who did not wish either of the rival parties to become too powerful, and whose object, before everything else, was to recover her own supremacy. Coligny and Beza looked upon the compact as a betrayal, and from the first would not accept it. In their opinion the concessions were too small, and they did not intend to be satisfied with anything less than equal

¹ For the grief of Pius IV., who caused a funeral service for Guise to be held in the Sistine Chapel, as though for an Emperor, see ŠUSTA, III., 281, 316.

² Navarre had died on November 18, 1562, as a Protestant, as many believed; see RUBLE, IV., 371; SOLDAN, II., 77 *seq.* *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, I., 436; ŠUSTA, III., 457 *seq.*

³ See BAGUENAUT DE PUCHESSE in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXV. (1879), 17 *seq.*

⁴ See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 137 *seq.*

⁵ See *Mém. de Condé*, IV., 311 *seq.* SOLDAN, II., 103 *seq.* D'AUMALE, *Les princes de Condé*, I., 224; SEGESSER, I., 324.

rights. On the other hand, the concessions which had been made to their mortal enemies seemed to the Catholics to be too great. The Spanish king as well as the Pope saw nothing less than a violation of the league in such a compact of peace, as being inadmissible in principle.¹ Consequently Cardinal Este was not able to pay over to the French government the last instalment of the Papal subsidy.² With regard to the peace compact the Cardinal, in order to allay suspicion and anxiety, reported to Rome that Catherine and the leading Catholics had agreed to it only under the pressure of necessity, and against their will, and that he hoped, in a personal interview, to be able to convince the Pope of the good dispositions of Catherine. He accordingly still recommended the greatest possible consideration towards the latest requests of the French government, which had reference in the first place to the dispensation for the Cardinal of Bourbon to give up the ecclesiastical state, by which Condé would be precluded from all pretensions to be the first prince of the blood royal, and in the second place to the permission to sell ecclesiastical goods in order to relieve the extraordinary financial crisis.³

The conciliatory Cardinal legate had always been a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, but all their efforts to procure his recall failed before the opposition of Catherine, to whom such a man was very welcome. When, on April 22nd, 1563, Este started out on his often deferred journey home, this was entirely at his own wish. At the end of May he had an interview at Ferrara with the Cardinal of Guise, which was of great importance for the furtherance of the Council. After a second conference at Florence with Cosimo I., he made his entry into

¹ See DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 500; MARCKS, *Bayonne*, 23; ŠUSTA, III., 316, 545, 554. Pius IV. expressed himself against the peace on March 31, 1563, at the first, but still indefinite, news, and afterwards more strongly on April 17, 1563; see *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome). Cf. also SICKEL, *Konzil*, 472.

² See ŠUSTA, III., 514, 523, 554.

³ See ŠUSTA, III., 517 *seq.*

Rome on June 26th, where he very soon made his influence felt.¹

While Este was still in France, the Pope had taken decisive steps in a matter of great importance. It had been pointed out by a Venetian envoy that one of the chief causes of the spread of the new religious opinions was the fact that men who were more or less avowed followers of Calvinism were able, in consequence of the unscrupulous way in which the French government abused the privileges given to it by the concordat, to insinuate themselves into the most important offices, and even become bishops and abbots.² This betrayal of the Catholic Church by its natural protectors, the bishops, forced the Pope to take proceedings. His rights in this matter had once more recently been confirmed at the XIIIth Session of the Council of Trent.³ At the same time Pius IV. showed no undue haste in dealing with the matter. When reliable informants pointed out to him as being very suspicious the religious attitude of several ecclesiastical dignitaries of high rank, especially Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, the brother of Coligny, and Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, he first asked for further detailed information, and even after he had received this he still delayed in summoning the accused before him, in which he was supported, not only by the easy-going Cardinal Este, but also by the strict Cardinal Tournon, the Protector of the French Jesuits, who, in the July of 1561, was still advising him to delay.⁴

¹ Cf. ŠUSTA, III., 7, 63, 120 *seq.*, 368, 421 *seq.*, 457, 476 *seq.*, 481, 517, 550; IV., 16 *seq.*, 27, 28; HILLIGER, Katharina, 312. According to the *report of Fr. Tonina of June 26, 1563, Este arrived the day before and made his entry on the 25 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See ALBÈRI, I., 4, 163. According to RANKE, *Französische Gesch.* V.³, 78, the report was from Michele Soriano.

³ See the learned dissertation of DEGERT, *Procès*, 64.

⁴ See ŠUSTA, I., 189, 209, 221, 225. For Cardinal Tournon, who died April 21, 1562, cf. *Kirchenlexikon* of Freiburg, XI.², 1908 *seq.* FOUQUERAY, I., *passim*. Rabelais had dedicated to Cardinal Châtillon the fourth book of his *Pantagruel* with its

Intervention on the part of the Pope, however, was all the more necessary since the French government did not show the slightest disposition to take steps against the bishops who were thus unfaithful to their trust. It was, however, only when Cardinal Guise, in May, 1562, declared himself to be prepared to proceed with the accusation against those prelates who openly supported heresy, that the Pope was able to take action. On May 25th he gave Cardinals Guise and Este the necessary powers, at the same time issuing six citations to appear before the Roman Inquisition. The Cardinals were to conduct the inquiry, though the Pope reserved the sentence to himself, or they might cause the citations to be delivered, and sent to Rome, in which case the conduct of the affair would pass into the hands of the Inquisition. Pius IV. would have preferred to have left the matter in the hands of Cardinal Guise alone, but the Cardinal legate, Este, would not suffer himself to be passed over. The latter, however, on account of the opposition of Queen Catherine, did not show any great haste, although there could no longer be any doubt as to the apostasy of Châtillon from the Church. Este had to be urged to execute the summons in September and November, 1562, and it was at the same time pointed out to him that the Pope was inexorable on this point, whether the queen gave her consent or not. A further delay occurred owing to the fact that in the first summons issued against Châtillon there was a technical error, which, in the opinion of the Inquisition, rendered it invalid. Accordingly, on December 8th, a second summons was sent to Este, with instructions to deliver it immediately, together with those issued against the other bishops, because complaints at the long delay in the proceedings were being made from all sides. This explains why it was only at the end of January, 1563 that the nuncio Santa Croce was able to send to Rome a formal notification that the summons against Châtillon and the Bishop of

attacks upon the Pope; see BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD, *Gesch. der französ. Lit.*, I., 249.

Troyes had been delivered.¹ The Roman Inquisition then took the matter into its own hands. This tribunal had set on foot the most searching enquiries, which, in the case of Cardinal Châtillon, had made it clear that this disloyal prince of the Church had undoubtedly seceded to the Calvinists, whose doctrines he had disseminated in his diocese of Beauvais and wherever else he could. Châtillon had made no attempt to defend himself. Making use of the existing legal forms, Pius IV., with the assent of all the Cardinals, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices in a consistory on March 21st. This sentence was hurried forward because the Pope feared lest Michel de Seurre, who had been sent to Rome by Catherine to ask for the dispensation for Bourbon, and for permission to sell ecclesiastical property in France, should intercede for Châtillon.²

Pius IV. had no idea of limiting himself to these proceedings against Châtillon, and at the end of March he made it clear that it was his intention to deprive all the Huguenot ecclesiastics of their benefices. The Queen of Navarre was also declared to have forfeited her kingdom,³ because she had tried to force upon it the acceptance of the new doctrines by means of threats of violence, such as the prohibition of public processions under pain of death.⁴

In virtue of a special bull, dated April 7th, 1563, the Roman Inquisition, on the 13th of the same month, published, by

¹ See ŠUSTA II., 488 *seq.*; III., 114, 367, 422, 457, 474, 480 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 40; MERLET, *Le card. de Châtillon*, 10. It was considered certain in Rome in the autumn of 1562 that Châtillon would be deposed; see the *report of Carlo Stuerdo to the Duke of Parma dated Rome, October 3, 1562 (State Arch., Naples. C. Farnes., 763).

² See in the report of Zuñiga of April 3, 1563, DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 499. Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 49, and Bull. Rom., VII., 247 *seq.* (bull of March 31); DEGERT, 64 *seq.* MERLET, *loc. cit.* 12; ŠUSTA, III., 545, 555.

³ See the report of Zuñiga mentioned in preceding note.

⁴ See the proofs from archives as to this in DUBERET, *Le protestantisme en Béarn*, Paris, 1896.

affixing it in the four principal places in the city, a proclamation citing eight French bishops to appear within six months before that tribunal to defend themselves against the charge of heresy, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* and deprivation. The accused were Jean de Chaumont of Aix, Antonio Caracciolo of Troyes, Louis d'Albret of Lescar, Claude Regin of Oloron, Jean de Montluc of Valence, François de Noailles of Dax, Charles Guillard of Chartres, and Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzés.¹

Except in the cases of Noailles the accusation was fully justified.² Only one of the accused, Caracciolo, asked the nuncio for mercy, the rest, appealing to the liberties of the Gallican church, refused to appear before the Inquisition.³ The French government, which just at that moment had deeply offended the Pope by its arbitrary proceeding in the sale of church property, and by its equivocal attitude towards the Huguenot threat to Avignon,⁴ now set a seal upon its hostile attitude by taking the part of the accused. It denied the right of the Pope to pronounce sentence in such causes at Rome ; thus, in the face of the Pope's condemnation, Châtillon had the effrontery during August to appear at Rouen in his Cardinal's dress.⁵

It was just at this moment that Catherine appointed Cardinal Guise to defend the Gallican liberties ; as soon as the rights of the crown were touched upon at Trent, he and all the French bishops were to leave the Council.⁶ Catherine had felt the threat of proceedings against the Huguenot Queen of Navarre very deeply, since her deposition was bound to turn to the advantage of Spain.⁷ The situation was thus

¹ See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 424 *seq.* ; DEGERT, 62 *seq.* The bull of April 7, 1563, in Bull. Rom., VII., 249 *seq.*

² See the definite proofs in DEGERT, 66-78. For J. de Montluc *cf.* also the too eulogistic work of REYNAUD (Paris, 1893). See also SAMARAN in Rev. Gascog., 1905.

³ See DEGERT, 80 *seq.*

⁴ See ŠUSTA, IV., 470 *seq.*, 474, 481 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 486.

⁵ See MARCKS, Bayonne, 41 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 533 *seq.*

⁶ *Cf.* Vol. XV. of this work, chapter X.

⁷ See MARCKS, *loc. cit.*, 42.

very strained when the nuncio Santa Croce, a short time after Charles IX. had attained his majority at Rouen, went to Rome on August 22nd, 1563, to discuss the questions at issue between France and the Curia. Santa Croce took with him, in Catherine's name, a proposal for a meeting of the principal Catholic sovereigns under the presidency of the Pope. This proposal, which to all outward seeming was quite harmless, but which in reality contained the "quite unmistakeable threat" of action on the part of the secular power, was aimed at preventing the Curia from going on with the reform of the princes at Trent, and the punishment of the Queen of Navarre.¹ Catherine, however, obtained just the contrary of what she wished; the diplomatic skill of Pius IV. proved to be far superior to her own. The Pope received the proposal which the queen had made very cordially, and united it to his own earlier proposal of a league of the Catholic princes for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council, and the extirpation of heresy, and thus made it appear that France was calling the princes to take the field in defence of the Council and against heresy.²

After this diplomatic victory the Pope firmly and successfully worked for the conclusion of the Council, but he did not on that account lose sight of the punishment of the Queen of Navarre and the heretical French bishops. Catherine experienced another diplomatic defeat when the envoy sent by her to Rome in October was refused an audience. It was very strange that she should have chosen for this office one of the accused bishops, François de Noailles, who was the close friend of Châtillon. Noailles was instructed to ask for the approval of the sale of Church property, which had already been carried out in the most arbitrary way by the French government, and he was also to protest against the deposition of Jeanne d'Albret and of Châtillon as being an infringement of the privileges of the French kings, of the concordat, and of the

¹ See *ibid.*, 42 *seq.*, 315 *seq.* Cf. also ŠUSTA, IV., 239 *seq.*, 253, 266, 554 *seq.*

² See SOLDAN, II., 184 *seq.* MARCKS, *loc. cit.* 43 *seq.*

liberties of the Gallican church, which enjoined that no French subject should be brought to judgment outside France.¹ Pius IV. absolutely refused to receive Noailles, so that the latter had to remain for the time being in Venice. In the meantime Cardinal de la Bourdaisière was doing his utmost in Rome to have the trial of the accused held in France. Cardinal Guise too, who was in Rome, used all his eloquence to make the Pope change his mind,² but Pius IV., who knew that the highest interests of the Church in France were at stake, remained firm. He continued to refuse to receive Noailles, and only waited for the departure of Cardinal Guise to take decisive steps. In a consistory on October 22nd, 1563,³ after a statement as to the situation had been made by the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, it was declared that all the seven bishops had refused to obey the summons, that some of them were notorious heretics, and the rest strongly suspected of heresy. Therefore the Pope, who twice spoke against the proposal for delay put forward by Bourdaisière, pronounced sentence with the approval of all the Cardinals, namely deprivation of all their dignities and benefices in the case of all those who were proved to be heretics. It was left to the Inquisition to decide which of the bishops, as being only *contumaces*, had incurred the penalties threatened in the *monitorium*; should they allow the year's grace now given them to pass without taking advantage of it, then definite proceedings were to be taken against them, and the accusations against them taken as proved.

On the same October 22nd Pius IV. caused a summons to be issued by the Inquisition, by which, on pain of losing all her possessions, Jeanne d'Albret was cited to appear within six months before the Roman Inquisition to answer the accu-

¹ See *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, II., 417 *seq.*

² See Legaz. di Serristori, 391; DEGERT, 86.

³ Cf. *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 88 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) and *Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13) as well as the *instructions, first used by DEGERT (p. 87 *seq.*) of Cardinal Bourdaisière to his secretary, sent to France and dated [Rome] October 30, 1563 (Archives des affaires étrangères, Paris).

sations made against her.¹ Cardinal Guise once more interceded with the Pope on behalf of Jeanne d'Albret, Châtillon and the seven bishops, and sought to induce him to receive Noailles. The Pope's reply amounted to an absolute refusal,² and showed how determined he was to do his duty by taking action against the aforesaid persons in the interests of religion. It is of course beyond doubt that the Pope was within his rights in so doing,³ but it is another question whether such procedure was opportune at that time. Guise did not fail to call the attention of Pius IV., through Morone, to the fact that in thus insisting upon strict justice he was really furthering the plans of the Huguenots, who desired nothing so much as to prevent the acceptance of the decrees of the Council by France ; only when this matter had been satisfactorily accomplished could the fitting time come for taking further definite action.⁴ These considerations, together with the threatening attitude of the French government,⁵ led the Pope to defer the formal publication of the sentence on the seven bishops. He was able to do this because a year had been allowed to the condemned to come to a changed state of mind. But even when this period of grace had elapsed without their taking advantage of it, the sentence still remained unpublished,

¹ See *Mém. de Condé*, IV., 669 *seq.* RAYNALDUS (1563, n. 133), Requesens (Pio IV. y Felipe, II., p. 51 *seq.*) and Borromeo (ŠUSTA, IV., 253) all give the date October 22. The date September 22 given in the *Mém. de Condé*, *loc. cit.*, seems to be certain from the fact that the ordinance of the Inquisition had already been issued in September, since the **monitorium et citatio offitii s. Inquisitionis contra ill. et ser. d. d. Joh. Albret., reginam Navarrae*, a copy of which is preserved in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy at Rome, bears the date September 28, 1563.

² See RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 181 ; DEGERT, 91 *seq.*, 95. Cf. also SICKEL, *Konzil*, 637.

³ See DEGERT, 95. Cf. the opinion of POLENZ, II., 301, 320.

⁴ See ŠUSTA, IV., 410 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 356, the remonstrances of the legates at the Council.

⁵ Cf. MARCKS, *Bayonne*, 44, 55. The French government also caused intervention to be made with the Pope in favour of Jeanne d'Albret by means of Maximilian II. ; see STEINHERZ, IV., 101 *seq.*

though it was in no sense withdrawn.¹ In the same way no steps were taken against the Queen of Navarre, who was under the protection of Catherine.² This considerate conduct sprang from the wish, so often shown before, to avoid a definite rupture with France, a wish which was also responsible for the concessions made by the Pope in the matter of the concordat.³ He was confirmed in his attitude by the behaviour of Catherine, who also, for her part, was careful not to drive things to an extremity. Noailles was recalled on December 17th, 1563, and a new envoy sent to Rome in his stead in the person of Henry Clutin d'Oissel, who presented a memorial setting forth the Gallican point of view of the government with regard to the French bishops summoned to Rome.⁴ By that time, however, another matter had become the absorbing topic of interest, the acceptance of the decrees of Trent. Cardinal Guise and the nuncio Santa Croce laboured to bring this about with all their power, but they met with the greatest opposition.⁵ L'Hôpital would not consent to the acceptance of the decrees on any terms, and Catherine was guided entirely by his advice.

To the first request made by Santa Croce Catherine had replied that with regard to the acceptance of the decrees of the Council she must first consult Guise, while even after this had been done she made the excuse that she must wait for the Pope's confirmation. When this had arrived she found another pretext for delay in the hesitating attitude of Philip II. This pretext being also disposed of, Catherine put forward the view that a healthy country like Spain could stand far more violent

¹ See LADERCHI, 1566, n. 425 ; DEGERT, 97 *seq.*

² See *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, II., 119 *seq.*, 153.

³ Cf. GUETTÉE, VIII., 390 ; BAUDRILLART, *Concordat*, 97, and RICHARD in *Rev. cath. des Eglises*, I. (1904), 525, for the brief of May 12, 1564.

⁴ See DEGERT, 69 *seq.* Cf. MARCKS, *Bayonne*, 44, 55 ; Venez. *Depeschen*, III., 254. The memorandum for Oissel in PITHOU, *Libertés de l'Eglise gall.*, Paris, 1661, 66 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. (MIGNOT) *Hist. de la réception du concile de Trente*, I., Amsterdam, 1756, 198 *seq.*

treatment than a sick one like France, which drew from Santa Croce the retort that a sick man is in far more urgent need of medicine than a healthy one.¹

The truth is that Catherine, acting under the advice of L'Hôpital, never seriously intended to accept the decrees of the Council. On February 25th, 1564, she referred the decrees to a commission of councillors of state and members of the Parliament. Their judgment was that there were many things in them which ran counter to the royal privileges and the liberties of the Gallican church. In addition to a number of special points of difficulty, among which was the prohibition of regular benefices being held in commendam, the consideration which above all caused their rejection was the fear of the Huguenots, whom Catherine was determined not to offend on any account.² Her fear of them was so great that she would not even allow the nuncio to distribute the printed decrees among the prelates. It was on this occasion that the queen made complaint of the attitude of the Pope with regard to the dispute as to precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors in Rome, which, she said, had given offence throughout France.³

This dispute, which had only with great difficulty been smoothed over in the Council at Trent,⁴ was renewed when the new French ambassador Oissel arrived in Rome at the beginning of February.⁵ Oissel announced that he had

¹ See the reports of Santa Croce from January to April, 1564, used by PALLAVICINI, 24, 11.

² See *Mém. de Condé*, V., 81 *seq.*; LE PLAT, VI., 320 *seq.*; MIGNOT, *loc. cit.*, 212 *seq.*; SOLDAN, II., 195 *seq.*; MARCKS, Bayonne 66 *seq.* Cf. also *Bullet. de la Soc. p. l'hist. du Protest. français*, XXIV., 409 *seq.*

³ See the report of Santa Croce of April 24, 1564, in PALLAVICINI, 24, 11, 5.

⁴ Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 331.

⁵ For what follows cf. the *reports of Requesens, of which only that of February 16, 1564, is printed in Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 234 *seq.*, and which STEINHERZ (IV., 86) was the first to extract from the State Archives, Samancas.

instructions to depart, and to withdraw the *obedientia* of France if the Pope were to raise the slightest question as to the right claimed by her that her ambassador should hold the next place after the representative of the Emperor, and always rank before that of Spain. The Spanish ambassador, Requesens, at once announced that he would leave Rome at once should the Pope arrive at a decision unfavourable to the claims of Spain. A letter which arrived from Philip II. on March 22nd, made it clear that he too was determined in such an eventuality to break off diplomatic relations.¹ Pius IV. was thus driven to seek a way out of a dilemma which seemed bound to lead to a rupture with one or other of these great Catholic powers. Accordingly, as a first step, he refrained from taking part in any public ceremony of the Church, on the pretext of ill-health. When Holy Week drew near, the dispute was still unsettled. The excuse which he had hitherto given was no longer of any use, since the Pope's health was now very good.² At the washing of the feet and the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* on Maunday Thursday it had never been customary to assign special places to the ambassadors, but on this occasion the French ambassador insisted on being present, even though the Pope should threaten him with excommunication. The Imperial ambassador there-

¹ See STEINHERZ, IV., 86. Cod. F. 23 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains *Ragioni a favore di Spagna per conto della precedenza colla corte di Francia esposte da Augusto de Crauctiz l'anno, 1564.

² Fr. Tonina reported to the Duke of Mantua on March 29, 1564 : *Così dico solo che con tutto che in questi giorni santi non siano mai soliti li papi tralasciare di andare in capella et far le solite ceremonie, non di meno S. B^{ne} mai v' è stata ne vi viene, ne si crede è per venire, per questa contesa della precedenza tra Franza et Spagna, et ancora che detto N. S. sia stato indisposto sin quì della podagra, il che ha potuto dar colore, che per questo non vi venesse, non di meno questa ragioni hor cessa, perchè sta bene, et è andato hoggi et hieri in Belvedere senza farsi portare, et è notorio che resta per questa differenza. Non si crede anco per questa ragione che dimani sia per fare la cerimonia del lavar dei piedi. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

fore thought that it was not in keeping with his master's dignity that he should absent himself from the ceremony. Accordingly on Maunday Thursday (March 30th) he as well as the French and Spanish ambassadors presented themselves at the Vatican, all three determined to maintain their rights at all hazards. So as to avoid a public scandal the Pope withdrew by a secret staircase to the loggia, where he gave his blessing; only the sound of the cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo made it known to the ambassadors who were waiting in the Hall of Constantine that the function had taken place. Oissel then attempted to join the suite of the Pope on his return, and was only prevented from doing so by force. He thereupon demanded his passports, and only the united efforts of the Pope and Cardinals Este and Morone were successful in inducing him to give up his departure, from which a complete rupture with France was to be feared. They tranquillized him by assuring him that the dispute would be settled by Pentecost.¹ Pius IV. thought that Philip II. would have given way by then;² the king, indeed, had given cause to hope that this would be the case, but he now declared that the affair had gone so far that he could not withdraw the instructions he had given to his ambassador.³ On Ascension Day

¹ Together with the letters of Borromeo and Arco in STEINHERZ, IV., 84 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*, and Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 272, 276, see also the **report of Fr. Tonina of April 1, 1564, *loc. cit.*, the **reports of Serristori of April 1, 4, and 5, 1564 (State Archives, Florence), and *the report of Caligari to Commendone from Rome, April 1, 1564 (Lett. di princ, XXIII, 47 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives). If Oissel departs, wrote *Tonina on April 5, 1564: "Si dubita che ne siano per seguire non solo la fatale alienatione di quel regno de la Sede Apost., ma altri inconvenienti come saria far un patriarcha in esseo regno et forse qualche guerra" *loc. cit.* On April 12 Tonina *reports that both the French and the Spanish ambassadors were threatening to depart. Cf. the reports of Requesens in Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 275 *seqq.*

² On April 5 he had a heated explanation with the Spanish ambassador. Cf. the *report of Serristori of April 7, 1564 (State Archives, Florence).

³ See PALLAVICINI, 24, II.

the Pope took no part in the functions,¹ but to absent himself again at Pentecost seemed to be out of the question, not only because any further absence seemed hardly in keeping with the dignity of the head of the Church,² but also because the period of delay promised to the French ambassador had come to an end. All attempts to arrive at a compromise had failed, and the time had come to take up a definite stand. The Pope therefore decided that without any prejudice to the rights of the rival claimants, the precedence hitherto allowed to the French ambassador over the Spanish one was to be continued. Requesens therefore was not present at the High Mass on the day of Pentecost (May 21st) but instead made a protest and broke off all relations with the Curia.³ On receiving his report Philip II., in the middle of July, ordered him to leave Rome, a step which Pius IV. diplomatically accepted as the result of a complaint which he had made at the arbitrary imprisonment by Requesens of a licenciado. As a matter of fact Philip himself did not wish to drive matters to an extremity; he had only recalled Requesens from Pius IV., but not from the Holy See, and the charge of his ecclesiastical interests was entrusted to Cardinal Pacheco.⁴ The king felt that any further action, such as the withdrawal of the *obediencia*, would be imprudent, and he accordingly accepted the decrees of the Council, except in so far as they ran counter to his privileges.⁵

¹ See the *report of Fr. Tonina dated Rome, May 13, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² Cf. *Acta consist. card. Garbarae, May 13, 1564, 40—G—13 (Corsini Library, Rome).

³ See STEINHERZ, IV., 134. Cf. Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 390 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., I., XXXV. *seq.* According to the *report of Fr. Tonina, of May 31, 1564 (*loc. cit.*) the ambassador of Florence was also absent from the Pentecost mass.

⁴ See HILLIGER, Katharina, 66 *seq.* CONSTANT, Rapport, 390.

⁵ See Pio IV. y Felipe II., p. 403 *seq.*, 444 *seq.* (cf. Pref., p. iii); PALLAVICINI, 24, 12. The presentation of the palfrey on St. Peter's Day took place, in spite of the state of tension, but not by the hands of Requesens himself, but of his secretary; see the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

The attitude of the French government was very different. The Pope had hoped to induce them to accept the decrees of the Council by his recent procedure.¹ With this purpose he sent Ludovico Antinori to France in October as envoy extraordinary. The envoy at the same time took with him the permission for the alienation of Church property, and was to hold out hopes of the legation of Avignon being conferred on Cardinal Bourbon. In spite of this the French government continued to make evasive replies on the question of the acceptance of the decrees of the Council.² Catherine, who wished for peace at all costs,³ adhered to her contention that the reform decrees were an infringement of Gallican liberties. The loyal Catholic bishops in France thought otherwise, and endeavoured in their provincial synods to carry the decrees of the Council into effect. Cardinal Guise gave a shining example in this at the synod which he held at Rheims in 1564.⁴

Santa Croce had continued as nuncio in France during all these events. His reports will always be an important authority for this period of French history, painting as they do in vivid colours the attitude of Catherine de' Medici both towards the Catholics and the Huguenots. Santa Croce's account of the first civil war, in which he gives a minute description of its atrocities and horrors to his friend Pietro Benedetti, form an important addition to his reports.⁵ He

¹ Cf. BAUDRILLART, *Concordat*, 97; GUETTEE, VIII., 390.

² See PALLAVICINI, 24, II, the *brief of recommendation for Antinori addressed to Charles IX., October 20, 1564, in *Min. brev. t.* 20, n. 20 (Papal Secret Archives). By the conferring of the legation of Avignon on Cardinal Bourbon on April 13, 1565, France became liable for the defence of that territory against the Huguenots; see STEINHERZ, IV., 383.

³ See *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, II., 126.

⁴ See HARDOUIN, *Conc. coll.*, X., 529; PICOT, I., 6 *seq.* Cf. HUMBERT in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, XII. (1907), 293. On April 28, 1564, Pius IV. had appointed Cardinal Guise Inquisitor General for the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and for the Duchy of Lorraine; see FONTANA, III., 393 *seq.*

⁵ *Cod. XXXIII., 74, of the Barberini Library, Rome (now Vatican Library), printed in MARTENE-DURAND, *Coll. V.*, 1427 *seq.*

wrote this when his nunciature was drawing to an end. On March 12th, 1565, he received the richly deserved reward of his perseverance in his very difficult task by his elevation to the purple, but this did not yet bring with it the recall he so much desired. Thus it fell to his lot to take part in the famous meeting which Catherine and Charles IX. held, between June 14th and July 4th at Bayonne, with Queen Elizabeth of Spain and Alba. Catherine was led to this by her wish to enter into better relations with Philip II., and at the same time to undermine his enormous influence ; she also wished to pave the way for advantageous marriages for her sons.¹

This meeting excited great interest, and filled the Protestants with grave anxiety, the more so as its negotiations and the decisions arrived at remained concealed behind a veil of complete secrecy. Only recent research has lifted this veil. It is clear that at Bayonne no treaty in the true sense of the word was arrived at, and that only oral promises were made. These were concerned in the first place with the acceptance of the decrees of the Council ; Catherine demanded a revision of the reform decrees, to be made by an assembly of prelates, but Alba rejected such a "counter-council." At last Santa Croce arranged a compromise, by which the French government pledged itself to accept the decrees after they had, with the Pope's consent, been subjected to examination by trustworthy Catholics, who, however, were not to touch upon dogma. With regard to her attitude towards the Huguenots Catherine made a general promise to take strong measures against them.²

¹ See MARCKS, Bayonne, 297 *seq.*, 302.

² See MARCKS, *loc. cit.*, 205 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, 238 ; HILLIGER, Katharina, 289 *seq.* Cf. also WIRTZ, Politik der Katharina von Medici, Fulda, 1891, 38 *seq.*, and Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung, 1892, 1302. Santa Croce still had to remain at his post since Francesco Beltrami, Bishop of Terracina, who was destined to succeed him, was not acceptable to the French government (DESJARDINS, III., 516, with the name given wrongly, and the *report of B. Pia from Rome, November 24, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the news of the death of the Pope, Santa Croce started at once for the conclave.

The treacherous queen, however, never had any intention of fulfilling the promise wrung from her by Alba. Pius IV. was the first to see through her deceitful game. When Cardinal Pacheco, by the order of Philip II., communicated to him the results of the meeting at Bayonne, the Pope advised him to put no faith in Catherine's word ; she had often made similar promises, but had always found excuses and had never done anything. The only way to restore the old state of affairs in France was to take serious action against Coligny, Condé and L'Hôpital. This, however, could not be done without having recourse to arms, and it was just that that the queen-mother shrank from.¹ As before, her aim was the holding of a national council in France, which should discuss further concessions, so as to quiet the Huguenots. It was obvious to Catherine that Pius IV. would never consent to any such thing, but she was counting on the early death of the ailing pontiff. It was for this reason that at Bayonne she had discussed the question of the next Papal election in great detail with her daughter, the Queen of Spain, pointing out to her that the elevation of the weak Cardinal Este, who was devoted to herself, was important and even necessary in the interests of the French government.²

During the Bayonne conference a definite decision was also come to as to the status of the Jesuits in France. Long disputes had preceded this decision, which had brought out with surprising clearness the attitude of the most influential corporate bodies in France towards the rights of the Holy See.

As early as January, 1551, Henry II. had ordered the legal recognition of the Jesuits, but, relying upon the opinions of the Bishop of Paris and the University, the Parliament had

¹ See the *report of Pacheco to Philip II., dated Rome, September 15, 1565 (Simancas Archives), printed in part in HILLIGER, Katharina, 293. On June 8, 1565, Pius IV. had stated in the consistory : " *in Gallia quoque meliori res in statu esse atque in dies melius sperari, verum tot annorum et saeculorum vulnera uno momento sanari non posse." (*Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13).

² See HILLIGER, Katharina, 300 *seq.*

obstinately refused to register the royal letter, and thus give it the full force of law.¹ After this the whole question was dropped for many years, and it was only in 1558, when the energetic and skilful Cogordan had been appointed to assist the French provincial, that the matter was once more pressed by the French Jesuits with all their power. Francis II. was well inclined to their endeavours, but the beginning of the Huguenot war was not a suitable moment to try and break down the resistance of the Parliament to the royal power. On February 12th, 1560, the king endeavoured to secure the registration of the royal letter of 1551, but the Parliament would not obey. On April 25th, 1560, there was issued a second royal edict, which was of wider scope than the former one, in so far as it provided for the admission of the Jesuits, not only to Paris, but to the whole kingdom. But once more the Parliament, as a first step, asked for the opinion of the bishop and the university. After this the king sent notice to the Parliament that they must clearly state before the court whether they intended to obey or not, and to give their reasons for objecting to the Jesuits. But, neither in response to this notification, nor a second, did any of the officials condescend to put in an appearance. For a second time the opinion of Bishop du Bellay was asked ; he thereupon gathered together all the parish priests of Paris, put the case before them from his own point of view, and obtained a unanimous declaration from them that the Order of the Jesuits was incompatible with the liberties of the Gallican church. Du Bellay then had recourse to the university, which replied in the same sense, giving as one of its reasons that the Order had not been approved either by an ecumenical council or by a provincial

¹ Cf. Vol. XIII of this work, p. 204. For the struggle of the Jesuits for admission from 1558 to 1565, cf. FOUQUERAY, I., 231 *seqq.*, 243 *seqq.*, 263 *seqq.* P. FÉRET in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXV. (1899), 455-74 ; La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres. Epoque moderne, vol. I., Paris, 1900 ; ARISTIDE DOUARCHE, L'Université de Paris et les Jesuits (XVIe et XVIIe siècles), Paris, 1888.

one. In full keeping with its Gallican ideas, the university completely ignored the Pope's approval.¹

Cogordan, however, did not yet lose heart. Since it was the Papal privileges which constituted the principal grievance against the Jesuits, he declared before the Parliament that he asked for nothing more than was possessed by the Mendicant Orders, who were fully recognized in France.² At the same time he obtained from Francis II. a further royal letter, dated October 9th, 1560.³ This letter stated that the Jesuits, as they had themselves declared, had no wish to infringe upon the rights of the parish priests and bishops, that the Papal bulls had made no concession contrary to those rights, and concluded by urging the Parliament to recognize those bulls. This letter was the first to meet with success. The Parliament, it is true, tried yet again to escape compliance by appealing to the bishop, but the latter now declared himself, though with many reservations, in favour of the Jesuits.⁴ On December 23rd, 1560, Catherine renewed the edicts of Henry II. and Francis II. The Parliament made a fresh attempt to bring the university into the field against the Jesuits, but at length declared, on February 22nd, 1561, that the decision might be made either by the States General or by the religious conference at Poissy, or by the next ecumenical council.⁵

Pius IV. had recommended the cause of the French Jesuits to his legate in France, Cardinal Este. The French Cardinals, Tournon, Lorraine, Armagnac and Guise were also favourable to them,⁶ while the boldness of the Protestants at Poissy could not fail to recommend to them an Order which had as its

¹ FOUQUERAY, I., 231-7.

² For the sense of this declaration (i.e. a renunciation of the exercise of the privileges, but not of the privileges themselves) see FOUQUERAY, I., 237.

³ An extract of this sent to Rome is printed in FOUQUERAY, I., 650 seq. *Ibid.* 238, because Cogordan wished for another *lettre de jussion*—this was the fifth.

⁴ FOUQUERAY, I., 241 seq.

⁵ FOUQUERAY, I., 243-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 249, 253.

special work the defence of the old religion and of the Apostolic See. Accordingly the question of the Jesuits had been included among the subjects which the Catholics wished to bring forward at Poissy.¹ During the interval between the two sittings of September 9th and 16th, it was resolved for various reasons to refer the matter to the Bishop of Paris. Acting upon his opinion, the prelates signed, on September 15th, 1561, a document in which, though in very guarded terms, they recommended the recognition of the Jesuits. They were to be admitted, not as an Order, but as a society or college, to give up their name, to be in all things subject to the bishops, and to renounce the privileges granted to them in the pontifical bulls. On the strength of this document, the Parliament, on February 13th, 1562, recognized the Jesuits under the name of the Society of the College of Clermont.² Thus at length was obtained the long desired recognition, with all its important consequences ; the restrictions under which it laboured were very soon one by one abolished.³

The days of struggle, however, were far from being ended. Even though the Parliament had been so far won over that it even began to take the Jesuits under its protection, on the other hand the university made all the difficulties it could. Once they had obtained legal recognition, the Jesuits endeavoured to make their college in Paris one of the principal educational establishments of the Order. A large house was bought, licence to give lectures was obtained from the Rector of the university, the course of studies which had been begun at the end of February, 1564, was gradually extended, and a number of distinguished professors summoned to Paris.⁴ Among these was the Spaniard, Maldonatus, who had a great name as an authority on the Holy Scriptures, but who, at Paris, first lectured in philosophy. In view of the unbelief, which was steadily taking a firmer hold upon the upper classes,

¹ *Ibid.*, 251.

² *Ibid.*, 253-5.

³ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁴ MANARAEUS, 80, 83 *seq.*

Maldonatus treated in his lectures, not on fruitless subtleties, but on the doctrine of God and the immortality of the soul,¹ and in consequence of his learned treatment of these subjects it soon was found that no hall could accommodate the crowds who flocked to hear him, while every seat was filled two or three hours before the beginning of the lecture.² The other professors of the new college also taught with great success, and their lecture-halls were filled while those of the university became more and more empty.³

The ill-will of the University professors, some of whom, like Pierre Ramus, were Huguenots,⁴ led to a series of attempts to silence these inconvenient rivals by means which were certainly not academic. In the first place they maintained that the faculty to lecture which had been granted to the Jesuits contained a defect in form. The provincial thereupon provisionally suspended the lectures, but the students showed their displeasure so violently that the Parliament ordered the Jesuits to recommence them. Then the university caused the famous jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was a Protestant, and very hostile to the Jesuits, to draw up a legal opinion on the controversy,⁵ and, at a meeting on October 8th, 1564, followed up his condemnation of the Order by one of their own.⁶ The

¹ "Admirabilem se prae-buit in tractatibus de Deo et immortalitate animae, qui tracturus maxime opportuni videbantur ob multitudinem atheorum, praecipue nobilium, quae continenter augescebat" (MANARAEUS, 83 *seq.*). " *Il rè è cattolico, li popolari cattolici et obbedienti al rè, la nobiltà non ha religione alcuna ne vuole superiorità ne di Dio ne del rè, ritiene autorità et tirannide grande nelli popolari, et quanto più anderà accrescendo di honori et di robbe, tanto sarà più inobediente di Dio et del rè et tiranna del populo." Cifra di Francia, dated Paris, August 22, 1570 (Papal Secret Archives, Francia, 4, 26).

² MANARAEUS, 84.

³ DU BOULAY, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, VI., 916, in FOUQUERAY, I., 369.

⁴ Cl. Matthieu, *Mémoire*, in PRAT, Maldonat, 594.

⁵ FOUQUERAY, I., 372.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 374.

fresh order for the suspension of the lectures was, however, at once cancelled by the Parliament.

Du Moulin had represented it as being something " monstrous, fatal, and contrary to public justice " that the Jesuits should be allowed to deliver lectures, independently of the university. Emboldened, perhaps, by the two judgments which had been given in their favour by the Parliament, the accused now sought to put an end once for all to this charge, which was indeed quite groundless, by putting forward a respectful request¹ that they might be incorporated in the university. They declared their readiness to forego all the dignities and emoluments, as well as the right of conferring academic degrees, or of themselves holding honorary academic positions. On the other hand, should their request be complied with, they promised complete obedience to the rector and statutes of the university, in so far as their own institute permitted.

The reply of the university to this petition was a renewed prohibition to teach, and a threat to the students that they would forfeit all their rights and privileges if they attended the lectures of the Jesuits. The latter then had recourse to the law, by calling for the protection of the Parliament against the attacks of the university on February 20th, 1565.²

This step let loose upon the new Order so terrible a storm that even their friends gave them up for lost.³ All Paris took sides, either for or against the Jesuits. They were overwhelmed with satires and lampoons ; on the same day and at the same hour sermons were preached against them in twelve different pulpits, and they were unable to show themselves in the neighbourhood of the university without being stoned.⁴ During the legal proceedings, the speech of their opponents' advocate, the clever and eloquent Etienne Pasquier, injured

¹ Composed by Odo Pigenat, in FOUQUERAY, I., 375 *seq.*

² FOUQUERAY, I., 384.

³ " Tum nemo erat, qui de nostra causa non existimaret conclamatum esse, foreque ut tota iuventus nos desereret." MANARAEUS, 88.

⁴ MANARAEUS, 88, *seq.*

their cause considerably. His account of the history of Loyola, of the beginnings of the Company of Jesus, and of the contents of their statutes is all taken from Chemnitz, and is a tissue of lies, misrepresentations and distortions. But the audacity with which the most fantastic accusations were set forth as irrefutable truths, and the tone of conviction which this clever advocate knew how to give to his words, as he came forward in the rôle of the champion of law and religion against a faction of the enemies of progress, could not fail to make a deep impression in many quarters, and for centuries Pasquier's invectives remained a mine for attacks on the Jesuits. The real reason for the strong feeling against the Jesuits comes out many times in his speech, namely the essential antagonism felt by men of Gallican ideas to these champions of the Holy See. When ecclesiastical superiors, Pasquier said, have tried to use their powers wrongfully to the injury of the king's majesty, the Paris university, with the assistance of this parliamentary tribunal, has always resisted them, just as though a permanent ecumenical council were assembled in that city for the defence of French subjects. Paul III., he maintained, had confirmed the Jesuits for purely political reasons, because they bound themselves by vow to exalt the Pope above every other power on earth; the Bishop of Clermont had brought them to Paris so that the Pope might have a court of his own there. Nothing in the constitutions of the Society of Jesus roused the ire of Pasquier so much as the fourth vow of the professed members, by which they promised special obedience to the Pope with regard to the missions.¹ Similar views had been expressed in the opinion given by the university on the question of the admission of the Jesuits to that body. In this it was plainly stated that the incorporation with the university which they asked for could not be allowed because they placed the Pope above the Council.²

In spite of everything, however, the final result of this sensational suit was not all that the friends of the university

¹ FOUQUERAY, I., 394. SACCHINI, III., l. I, n. 8.

² FOUQUERAY, I., 383.

desired. Parliament refused to decide definitely in favour of either party, and on April 5th, 1565, it decided that in the matter of the Jesuits things were to remain *in statu quo*.¹ A fresh prohibition of the Jesuit schools on the part of the university met the same fate as its predecessors. At the Bayonne conference in 1565, the Jesuit Possevino obtained for the members of his Order a fresh letter from the Parliament, dated July 1st, 1565, which gave them permission to open colleges everywhere in France, and to call themselves the Company of Jesus.² With this the hostility of the university to the new Order was silenced until 1594.

In reality, in spite of all the attacks upon it, the Order had steadily gained ground in France, even during the pontificate of Pius IV., and had founded colleges at Tournon in 1561, Rodez in 1562, Toulouse in 1563, Mauriac in 1564,³ Avignon, Chambéry and Lyons in 1565;⁴ under Pius V. the colleges at Verdun, Nevers and Bordeaux were added to these. During the course of the struggle between the Jesuits and the university, Pius IV. himself, in the last year of his reign, had thrown into the scales his own influence as supreme pontiff,⁵ by pointing out to the king that the Society of Jesus had been approved and confirmed by the Pope and by the Council of Trent, that in many countries of Europe it had done a great work in defence of the faith, while in Rome itself it enjoyed the protection and esteem of the Pope.

¹ FOUQUERAY, I., 415.

² *Ibid.*, 411.

³ Cf. FOUQUERAY, I., 288 *seqq.*, 304 *seqq.*, 318 *seqq.* A laudatory *brief from Pius V., "Ordini civium nobilium Tolosae," for their generosity to the Jesuits, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 12, n. 132 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ FOUQUERAY, I., 434 *seqq.*, 452 *seqq.* Cf. M. CHOSSAT, *Les Jésuites et leurs œuvres à Avignon*, Avignon, 1896.

⁵ May 29, 1565, in SACCHINI, III., l. 1, n. 19.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

IN England the young Queen Elizabeth had apparently, even in the time of Paul IV., almost entirely destroyed the edifice so laboriously built up by her elder sister. The crown had set itself to the work of taking possession of the ecclesiastical property restored by Mary, the monasteries were suppressed, while the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had destroyed the authority of the Pope, and compelled all the faithful to attend the Anglican worship.¹

In spite of all this, however, English Catholics did not look upon their cause as lost. The change of religion, it was stated in a memorial to Pius IV. in 1559,² rested entirely upon the will of the queen; many important persons as well as most of the common folk were still devoted to the old religion; Elizabeth, moreover, had not enforced the new laws with any great rigour; there was therefore still hope that in time, either spontaneously or by force of circumstances, the queen would seek for reunion with Rome. Similar views were put before the Pope by the former English ambassador, Edward Carne, and by Francis Englefield, who during the reign of Queen Mary had been a member of the royal council, but who had left England on account of the religious laws, and was now living at Padua.³

The Spanish ambassadors in London, Count Feria and his

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 401 *seqq.* For the restoration under Mary see *ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*, and G. CONSTANT in *Revue historique*, CXII. (1913), 1-27.

² In MEYER, 403 *seq.*, suppl. I.

³ KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 482 *seq.* For the subsequent adventures of Englefield see STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign*, 1562, n. 127; 1563, n. 1027.

successor, Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, based their hopes upon quite other motives. The one ally of England, even in the time of Queen Mary, had been King Philip of Spain. It seemed inconceivable to the Spanish ambassadors that Elizabeth could persist in alienating this one ally by her religious legislation; the policy of the young queen was, speaking generally, altogether incomprehensible to them. Again and again they declared that Elizabeth could not go on in the course she had adopted, because it was obvious to everyone that she must soon meet with disaster on account of her indiscretions.¹ The twenty-five year old and frivolous queen, who, by reason of her open adulterous relations with the married Robert Dudley, had forfeited the popular favour,² was, in the eyes of the Spaniards, nothing but an inexperienced young girl, given up to fashions, vanities, caprices and love affairs, but who, as far as politics were concerned, had placed herself blindly in the hands of unscrupulous advisers, and who was hastening to a disastrous end.

It was only by slow degrees that de la Quadra realized how mistaken he had been in his estimate of the young queen. It was quite true that Elizabeth loved pomp and pleasure, but before everything else she was determined to remain queen, and she was a born ruler. In spite of her youth she had clear views as to the aims and methods of her policy, and these she had carefully weighed with her principal adviser, William Cecil. With rare judgment she knew how to choose her advisers and tools, while she had grasped the political

¹ "No hay quien no vea manifestamente la perdicion de la Reyna y de su reyno." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, November 12, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 86; *cf. ibid.*, 72, 111. Margaret thought the same, *ibid.*, 111, and xxi. Feria thought that Elizabeth would be like the cock in the Spanish proverb, which scratched until it dug up the knife which was to cut off his head. Chaloner to Cecil, from Brussels, December 6, 1559, *ibid.*, 121.

² KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., xlvi.; *cf. ibid.*, 72, de la Quadra to Granvelle, January 13, 1560, *ibid.*, 689. As to Elizabeth's "puterias" *cf. ibid.*, 189, 225.

conditions of Europe with extraordinary shrewdness, and had made her arrangements for the attainment of her ends with iron inflexibility. But above all she very soon proved herself unequalled in intrigue and deceit. While still an infant she had lost her mother, when three years old she had been declared illegitimate and thrown upon the mercies of an openly antagonistic world. In these difficult conditions her character had developed in an extraordinarily crooked manner. She was excitable, irritable to a quite undignified degree, artificial, oversensitive, devoid of all good feeling, and entirely lacking in all nobility of heart or mind.¹ The adverse circumstances of her youth had caused her prematurely to have recourse to intrigue as her only means of defence. Her name was to be found mixed up in almost all the conspiracies against Queen Mary, but with incomparable skill she invariably succeeded in escaping from the most dangerous situations.² Now that she was queen she had the effrontery to declare with sighs in the presence of the Spanish ambassador that she desired to be a nun in a convent cell, and to spend her days in prayer, while all the time, to use an expression of de la Quadra, "she had a hundred thousand devils in her."³ She could adapt herself to any rôle ; she knew how to act the queen, full of majesty and dignity, just as well as she could, if occasion demanded, show herself amorous or pious, Catholic or Protestant. In this way, in order to deceive the world as to her real intentions, she would sometimes pretend to be a frivolous and impressionable girl, who, for example, would cause her admirer, the Archduke Charles of Austria, to be informed that she often stood in admiration before his portrait, and could not take her eyes off it,⁴ while on the next day she would

¹ E. MARCKS, *Königin Elisabeth von England und ihre Zeit* Bielefeld, 1897, 15, 28, 47 *seq.*

² BROWN, VI., p. 1058, 1060 ; *cf.* n. 80, 505, 510, 525, 1290.

³ " Me dice siempre que muere por ser monja y por estarse en una celda rezando " De la Quadra to Feria, December 27, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 158 ; *Correspondencia de Felipe II.*, I., 268.

⁴ Tiepolo, December 15, 1559, in BROSCHE, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, X. (1889), 128.

unctuously inform him " that she could not disregard the grace which Our Lord had given her, and that it would be her delight to live and die a pure virgin."¹

As far as she herself was concerned, Elizabeth was very little affected by any religious views ;² in her direction of the affairs of state her only God was success, and her gospel was that of Machiavelli. It was nothing but consideration for her own advantage which led her to base the whole of her policy upon the antagonism which, since the religious schism, had divided the peoples of northern Europe into two hostile camps. Since the marriage of the Scottish queen, Mary Stuart, with the heir to the French throne, it seemed as though the two kingdoms nearest to England must be united under one sceptre. The military resources of England, however, were not sufficient to hold their own against a Franco-Scottish alliance ; the kingdom, which now numbers 32 million inhabitants, then contained but three or at most five millions, while the condition

¹ De la Quadra, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 439.

² " There never was a woman who was so completely devoid of all religious feeling as she was." (RICHARD GREEN, *A short history of the English people*, London, 1886, 368, in BROSCHE, VI., 590). " Scarcely a trace of religious enthusiasm ever entered her soul " (MEYER, 12). " It cannot be said of her that she belonged to any of the religious bodies of her time " (RANKE, *Englische Geschichte*, I., 298). " According to the exigencies of the circumstances of the moment, the queen knew how to behave as a Catholic or Protestant with equal ease ; she was an artist in politics, and it would be hard to say what part religion had in her artistry " (BROSCH, VI., 589). According to John Knox, Elizabeth was " neither a good Protestant nor a decided Papist " (*History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. D. LAING, Edinburgh, 1846, II., 174 ; cf. FLEMING, 285). Elizabeth, in 1560 said to Lethington, concerning the Sacrament of the altar, that it was the central point of the burning religious disputes : " Some think one thing and some another ; who is right, God alone knows ; in the meantime everyone adheres to his own opinion." POLLEN, in *The Month*, 1904, II., 501.

of its fortresses and armies were only calculated to excite the derision of military experts.¹

In the face of the real or possible dangers of the political situation, it was very far from Elizabeth's intentions to unite herself with her brother-in-law, Philip, and thus commit herself to a Catholic policy. The unhappy example of her elder sister, as well as the weakness of Spain, were a warning to her. The English queen decided that it would be far more advantageous to her if she were to take up an independent position as a Protestant, and wherever it was possible to enter into friendly relations with Protestant subjects against their lawful rulers. In Scotland she encouraged the hatred of the Protestants for Mary Stuart, in France she supported the Huguenots against the house of Valois, and in the Netherlands she fomented the discontent of the future *gueux* against Philip II., and in this way she paralysed the activities of all those who might have proved a danger to her. At the very beginning of her reign a memorandum of her principal adviser, William Cecil, gave expression to the view that she should lend her assistance to religious discontent abroad, and above all encourage the hopes of those who "were inclined to good religion."² As early as 1560 the Spanish ambassador wrote that Elizabeth was resolved to set all Christianity on fire so as to secure peace in her own house; if the English intrigues should be successful, the queen, with the help of the new religion, would ruin all the neighbouring countries, and no one would any longer be safe by their own fireside.³ It was inevitable

¹ Chaloner reports the opinion of Granvelle as to this to Cecil, December 6, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 119.

² "Especially to augment the hope of them who incline to good religion." A device for the alteration of religion, in BURNET, *History of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, V., 497; cf. STEVENSON, in *The Month*, 1893, II., 26.

³ "Ha determinado lo que agora vemos, que es solamente poner fuego en la Christiandad . . . para bivar ella descansada y ociosa." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, January 5, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 169. "Vuestra Alteza tenga por cierto que, si esta maldad de aqui pasa adelante, destruyra por esta via desta nueva religion todas las provincias convecinas." De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, January 21, 1560, *ibid.*, 194-5.

that the whole tendency of her policy should have proved how illusory were the hopes of the return of Elizabeth to the Catholic Church.

It was of incalculable importance to Elizabeth that Philip of Spain still clung to these hopes. By means of her ambassadors in Spain the queen had caused the rumour to be spread that she was still at heart a Catholic ;¹ Philip, who was well aware of the fact that by his intercession on her behalf with Queen Mary, he had obtained the liberation of Elizabeth from the Tower, and thus saved both her life and her crown,² was all the less able to disbelieve her assurances because it was an integral part of his policy to maintain his alliance with the English queen. In the event of Elizabeth's rule being overthrown, or should she be declared illegitimate, the next lawful heir to the English crown was Mary Stuart, who, immediately after the death of Mary the Catholic had assumed the arms and title of Queen of England. Philip was seriously afraid of the French obtaining possession of England,² and if the most formidable rival of the Hapsburgs should succeed in uniting in his own person the crowns of Scotland and England, as well as that of France, the doom of Spain seemed to be sealed. In this sense Margaret of Parma wrote on December 8th, 1559, that it would be as fatal to tolerate the presence of the French in England as to open to them the gates of Brussels ; should the French become masters of England, then Flanders would

¹ " Yo se que esto que me ha respondido tanto en lo de su casamiento como en lo de la religion, es la suma de lo que tantos dias ha dieron por instruction a sus embaxadores para que lo dixesen siendo preguntados en España." De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 441.

² Granvelle to d'Assonleville, April 22, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 345. Elizabeth herself said, in 1564, to the Spanish ambassador, that she owed her life and throne to Philip. Guzman de Silva to Philip II., July 10, 1564, *Collección de docum.*, inéd., XXVI., 512.

³ POLLEN, in *The Month*, XCVI. (1900), 399.

be torn from Spain.¹ Granvelle too was of opinion that London must be defended as carefully as Brussels itself.² In addition to all this, Philip at that time desired above all things a policy of peace, so as to afford to his exhausted country the quiet which it so long had lacked. Moreover, Spain was so ill equipped for war, and was so deeply in debt,³ that in 1557, and again in 1575, it was found necessary to declare a state of national bankruptcy.⁴

Elizabeth, therefore, had nothing to fear from Philip; on the contrary, the Spanish king was rendering her important service. The king reported in Rome⁵ what Elizabeth had caused him to be informed as to her own Catholic sentiments, and it was Philip himself who dissuaded the Pope from taking stronger measures against Elizabeth, uniting himself for this end with Edward Carne and Francis Englefield, who sought to persuade the Pope that the change of religion in England was not to be attributed so much to the queen as to the counsellors by whom she was surrounded.⁶

¹ GACHARD, *Correspondance de Marguerite de Parme*, I., 73. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., III. Cf. KRETZSCHMAR, *Invasionsprojecte*, 2 *seq.*

² KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., xxi.

³ *Ibid.*, II., xxxv.

⁴ See ŠUSTA in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, XXX., 545.

⁵ Philip pointed out to the Pope "que siempre se tenia esperanza que ella, como muger de ingenio y sabia, se reduzeria y procuraria de reducir los suyos a la religion universal y catolica, lo qual Su Magestad habia mandado decir y exponer al Papa para obviar a lo que ella sabe, que Franceses un tiempo procuraban contra ella [the excommunication]." De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 440.

⁶ "Donnans la coulpe du changement et mutation d'icelle [of religion] plus tost à aulcuns ministres estans à présent en crédit vers ladicte Royne que à icelle Dame mesmes." De la Quadra and Glajon, to Margaret of Parma June 28, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 482 *seq.* Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, wrote on June 30, 1560, to Elizabeth, that the mission of Parpaglia had been urged by distinguished persons

Under the influence of these advisers, and in accordance with their views, Pius IV., on May 5th, 1560, addressed a letter to Elizabeth, which was to be taken to her by Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of S. Solutore.¹ The Pope, this letter stated, sincerely desired the prosperity and honour of the queen, as well as the consolidation of her power. Elizabeth therefore must take no heed of evil counsellors, who sought only their own advantage, but must accept the paternal advice of the Pope. For his part he promised to do everything he could in virtue of his office to bring about the salvation of her soul, and to assure her position as queen. The letter ended with an invitation to the Council which he hoped would shortly assemble, and with a recommendation of his nuncio.² On the same day Pius IV. wrote to Philip II. and to the King of the Romans, begging them to lend their assistance to his negotiations with the queen.³ Parpaglia left Rome on May 25th,⁴ and on June 17th he arrived at Louvain.⁵

The mission of Parpaglia came at a very opportune moment for Elizabeth ; for some time past the French had been bringing pressure to bear in Rome to induce the Pope to recognize Mary Stuart as lawful queen of England. Paul IV. would not

in England, who had led the Pope to believe that the majority of Englishmen were opposed to the existing religion. STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign*, 1560-I, n. 254, p. 156.

¹ The abbey of SS. Solutore, Avventore and Ottavio de Sangano, at Turin, had probably been suppressed in 1536. DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, II., 238. MAITLAND in the *English Hist. Review*, XV. (1900), 760.

² RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, 1560, n. 43, 45. A letter to the Spanish ambassador in London of March 10, *ibid.*, n. 44.

⁴ STEINHERZ, I., 34. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1723, 15.

⁵ KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 470. His journey was via Spire, Cologne and Louvain to Brussels (*ibid.*, 472). For the mission of Parpaglia, *cf.* The North British Review, III. (1870); G. CONSTANT in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, Paris, 1913, 509-20 ; C. G. BAYNE, *Anglo-Roman relations*, 1558-65, London, 1913.

consent to do this,¹ and the letter of Pius IV. on May 5th, 1560, was calculated to put an end to any further anxiety on that score. But so long as Elizabeth paid no attention to the exhortations of the Pope and continued to force the Catholics to apostasy, it was not impossible that sooner or later they would take stronger measures in Rome; Pius IV., indeed, had already hinted at something of the kind.² A bull of excommunication might have the most disastrous consequences for Elizabeth. Even though, in the changed conditions of the times, there was less reason to fear the loss of the throne, a thing which, according to medieval ideas, would have been the consequence of such a Papal condemnation, nevertheless excommunication would have the effect of breaking off or at least disturbing friendly relations with Catholic powers, and since England, as far as the great majority of her people was concerned, was still Catholic in opinion, it might easily result in internal disturbances.

As soon as the news of the mission of a nuncio to England was received, Elizabeth had a conference with the Spanish ambassador.³ She protested that she was as much a Catholic as the ambassador himself, and called God to witness that she believed all that the Catholics of her kingdom believed.⁴ When de la Quadra thereupon asked her why she acted against her conscience, and caused her subjects to apostatize from the true religion, she replied that she was for the present forced

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 405.

² POLLEN, *Papal negotiations*, 46. Cf. MEYER, 36. Giacomo Soranzo had heard in Venice that should Elizabeth not obey, France and Spain would proclaim a commercial blockade against England (TURBA, III., 148). John Sheres wrote from Venice to Cecil on May 18, 1560, that Parpaglia had received the power to excommunicate Elizabeth and declare her a rebel, if she refused his demands. STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1*, n. 108, p. 63.

³ De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 440 *seqq.*

⁴ "que ella era tan catolica yo y que hazia a Dios testigo de que lo que ella creia no era diferente de lo que todos los catolicos de su reyno creyan." *Ibid.*, 440.

to act in that way, and that if the ambassador knew the true state of the case, he would certainly hold her excused.¹ De la Quadra acted as though he accepted these assertions, and he sought to hold the queen as firmly as possible to her statements, so that later on he might be able, should she speak in another sense, to convict her of her inconsistency. At length he even forced her to declare that she would willingly receive the nuncio, and that it would not be her fault if union with the Church were not restored.²

The difficult task of keeping Parpaglia out of England, without thereby again exciting the resentment of the Pope against her, was spared to Elizabeth, for Philip II. relieved her of it. Unfortunately for Parpaglia it was taken for granted at the Spanish court that his mission was the outcome of French intrigue, and was merely a French political move.³ For this reason he had to be prepared to meet with difficulties on the part of Spain. Moreover, Philip II. looked upon it as certain on *a priori* grounds that the queen would not receive the nuncio; at the same time, so it was thought in Spain, the Pope would be bound to meet the open rejection of a Papal envoy by excommunication and deposition, and the Catholic King would be charged with the carrying out of the sentence; otherwise the courage of the English Catholics would fail, and the Spanish king would be discredited on all sides. On the other hand, however, just then, when peace had hardly been concluded, a war with England was the very thing that could not be contemplated.⁴ Moreover, not only was the moment for

¹ "que era forzada ad tempus y que, si yo supiese lo que a esto la habia forzado, que sabia que la tendria por escusada." KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, 441.

² "Hizele decir que holgaria de que viniese el nuncio que se decia que Su Santidad enviava y que por ella no quedaria que la Iglesia no se uniese siempre que los otros principes quisiesen." *Ibid.*, 441.

³ Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 24, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513: "Comme avez pu veoir par les pièces qui vous ont esté envoyées, il est certain que les François sont l'une de principales causes de l'envoy dudit abbé."

⁴ KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513.

sending a nuncio ill-chosen, but so was the person selected for that office. Parpaglia was looked upon as a French partisan¹ and only eighteen months before Philip had had him banished from Flanders under threat of death, as a French spy.² Nor could he be welcome at the court of Elizabeth, on account of his close relations with Cardinal Pole, whom she had detested.³

On receipt of the news that Parpaglia was going to England, Philip at once caused remonstrances to be made in Rome.⁴ He then sent instructions to Margaret of Parma to detain Parpaglia at Brussels until Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, should have made representations to the Pope.⁵ On July 10th Parpaglia received a letter from Borromeo, and another from Vargas;⁶ if he should not have already departed for London, the Pope ordered him to wait at Brussels, while should he have already reached England he was to be guided in all things by the advice of de la Quadra and not leave the country without further instructions.

In this way Parpaglia's mission was frustrated; all that remained to be done was to find some suitable pretext for his honourable recall. It could not be openly stated that consideration for Spain had been the determining factor in his recall, for that would have given offence to France, which had advocated the mission of Parpaglia.⁷ According to

¹ "Dicen es Frances por la vida," De la Quadra to Granvelle, June 3, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 441. "Es mas Frances que Piamontes," Vargas to Philip II., May 6, 1560, in G. CONSTANT in *Mél. d'hist. offerts à M. Ch. Bémont*, 516.

² Tiepolo to the Doge, June 25, 1560, in BROWN-BENTINCK, VII., n. 176. Margaret of Parma, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 513.

³ Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 11, 1560, *loc. cit.*, 502; *cf.* 441.

⁴ BROWN-BENTINCK, *loc. cit.* Philip II. to Vargas, June 1, 1560, in G. CONSTANT, *loc. cit.*, 516-8; GACHARD, *Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche*, I., 206. *Cf.* BEKKER, *Elisabeth und Leicester*, 4 *seq.*

⁵ GACHARD, *loc. cit.*, 204. Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, July 11, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 502.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 503.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Vargas' letter to the nuncio, the Pope would now have preferred that Elizabeth should refuse him his passport to England, and that he would have liked de la Quadra to have influenced the queen in that sense. But, as the Duchess of Parma pointed out, if any such reasons were to be given for the recall of Parpaglia, the French in Rome would be encouraged to make further demands against Elizabeth, while on the other hand it would be impossible to pass over in silence such an insult as the refusal of a passport, without driving the English Catholics to despair. Margaret therefore advised that the Spanish ambassador should write to Parpaglia to the effect that, having carefully examined into the state of affairs, he had come to the conclusion that the granting of the passport was full of difficulties, and that therefore Parpaglia would be well advised not to ask for it, and to postpone the execution of his mission until the conclusion of peace and the opening of the Council.¹

De la Quadra wrote the suggested letter on July 25th,² and on the same date he wrote to the Duchess of Parma³ that it would not be impossible to obtain the passport, but that the queen wished first to see the dispatches carried by Parpaglia. She would refuse to receive the Papal letters unless in them she were accorded all her titles. This was as much as to say that she would in no case receive the nuncio, because they certainly would not give her in Rome the title of "defender of the faith" (*Defensor Fidei*). The queen added that the sending of a nuncio was unnecessary, since she was so firmly fixed in her faith that she would die rather than change it; de la Quadra had better see to it that Parpaglia did not come, since she did not wish to give displeasure to the Pope. Then she remembered that she had formerly told de la Quadra that she was of the same faith as himself, and began to argue

¹ Margaret of Parma, *loc. cit.*

² KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 516 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 515 *seq.* The letters to Parpaglia, Margaret of Parma and Vargas were also sent to Rome. De la Quadra to Philip II., July 25, 1560. *Corresp. de Felipe II.*, I., 302.

with him, finally saying that in all essentials there was hardly any difference between herself and the ambassador.¹

The nuncio in France also wrote to Parpaglia that he had better not proceed any further in the matter,² and in October Parpaglia returned to Italy.³

Philip II. was severely blamed by Catholics for his action with regard to the mission of Parpaglia ; the English Catholics complained that it was his policy which was responsible for the fact that heresy had taken such deep root in their country.⁴ When Nicolas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, and Papal legate in Scotland, passed through London on his return home, he informed the Spanish ambassador there that in his opinion the mission of a nuncio to England was exceedingly opportune. The French ambassadors in Scotland, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Randan, made similar complaints against Philip. Pellevé saw the reason for Philip's indirect support of " Elizabeth's evil cause " in the king's matrimonial plans for the English queen.⁵

It was quite true that from the first Philip had entertained the idea of winning over Elizabeth to the Hapsburg policy by means of some suitable marriage, and thus forcing her to renounce her support of the religious changes ; he hoped that he would thus be able to attain his ends by peaceful means,

¹ " Se puso en disputas y en querer me provar que en lo substancial no diferiamos casi en nada." KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 516 ; Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 302 *seq.* Cf. Guzman de Silva, April 26, 1565, Collección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 539.

² De la Quadra to Parpaglia, July 29, 1560, Collección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 518.

³ STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-1, n. 815, 7. He stayed for eight days at Orleans, and then went straight on to Rome on November 20. *Ibid.*, n. 737, 10.

⁴ De la Quadra to Philip II., July 25, 1560, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 303 : " El querer V.M. sustentar â esta Reina por la conservacion de sus Estados, es causa que la herejía haga raices en este Reino." Philip II. wrote on the margin in his own hand, " Este capitulo es bien mirar."

⁵ De la Quadra, August 12, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II. 522.

more easily than by having recourse to war or force. First of all he offered his own hand to his royal cousin, and when Elizabeth rejected this, he caused the Archduke Charles of Austria to be put forward in his stead. These suggestions were not displeasing to the queen, because so long as there was any possibility of a Hapsburg marriage she thought she would be safe from a Papal excommunication. Taught by the experience of her elder sister, she had resolved not to marry at all, and had definitely given expression to this resolve before Parliament. On another occasion, however, she had expressed herself in the opposite sense, so that no one knew what she really intended, and the hopes of her suitors were constantly receiving fresh encouragement.¹ Many others, besides the Hapsburgs, aspired to the hand of Elizabeth.² The queen did not formally reject any of them, she allowed presents to be made to her by all of them, and drew much political profit from the friendship of her many suitors. Her own subject, Robert Dudley, was the one who, above all, enjoyed her favour. When the wife of the latter met with a violent end, the rumour was soon current at court that Elizabeth had already married him in secret.³

Elizabeth made use of her relations with Dudley to confirm Philip in his illusions as to her own religious opinions. In

¹ E. WERTHEIMER, *Hieratsverhandlungen zwischen Elisabeth von England und Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich, 1559-61*; *Hist. Zeitschrift XL., N.F. IV., 385-432*; Wertheimer is of opinion (p. 402): "if we examine her conduct during these matrimonial negotiations, she appears as the very personification of deceit." M. BROSC, *Habsburgische Vermählungspläne mit Elisabeth von England*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, X. (1889), 121-34.

² "Estamos aqui diez o doze embaxadores competidores de Su Magestad" wrote de la Quadra on October 29, 1559, to Feria, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 72. In BROWN-BENTICK, VII., n. 710, the names of the twelve suitors are given.

³ De la Quadra's justification, April 30, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 17. For the end of the wife of Dudley, *cf.* WALTER RYE, *The murder of Amy Robsart*, London, 1885; BEKKER, *Elisabeth und Leicester*, 44-77.

January, 1561, a relative of Dudley, Henry Sidney, went to de la Quadra and pointed out to him how advantageous it would be for King Philip if Elizabeth could be induced to marry Dudley, because the latter was prepared to serve the king as his vassal, and Elizabeth would thereby be disposed to restore the old religion by means of the Council, in which case Dudley would certainly lend his aid ;¹ an attempt was even made to overcome de la Quadra's doubts as to this by a sworn statement.² On February 13th Dudley himself paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador in order to confirm the promises made by Sidney,³ and he even went so far on a subsequent occasion as to say that he was prepared to go in person to the Council should an ordinary envoy not be enough.⁴ In the meantime Elizabeth acted as though she took the whole affair seriously. In the course of an audience of the Spanish ambassador she said, among many other things, that she would like to go to confession to him, and to tell him, under the seal of the sacrament, that she was not an angel, and that she could not deny her love for Dudley, but that she had not made up her mind to marry him or anyone else, although every day she saw more clearly the necessity of taking that step ; she said that she could only marry an Englishman, and what would de la Quadra say if she were to choose one who was the devoted servant of Philip ?⁵ After Sidney's visit she began to single out the Spanish ambassador for special favour, and gave up persecuting the Catholics ; on April 15th de la Quadra wrote to Philip II. that during the past three years they had never been left in so much peace as during the last three months.⁶

¹ De la Quadra to Philip II., January 22, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 312 *seq.*

² " Con juramentos grandes se esforzaron de persuadirme que la Reina y M. Roberto estaban determinados de restituir la religion por via del Concilio." *Ibid.*, 314.

³ De la Quadra to Philip II., February 23, 1561, *ibid.*, 316 *seqq.*

⁴ " Me dijo qui si no bastaba inviar al Concilio, iria allá él mismo." Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 319.

⁵ De la Quadra to Philip II., February 23, 1561, *ibid.*, 317.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 335.

The English Protestants saw all this with great anxiety. As the queen's lover, Dudley was no less distasteful to them than to the Catholics; the violent death of his wife afforded the preachers occasion for making remarks in their pulpits which certainly did not redound to the good name of the queen.¹ De la Quadra, however, did not allow himself to be deceived; he replied evasively to Elizabeth's demands, and advised the Catholics to build no hopes for success upon her marriage with Dudley. In spite of this he advised his king to support Dudley's schemes, pointing out that the marriage could only damage Elizabeth's reputation, and would make it impossible for her any longer to hold the diplomatists in suspense by means of their uncertainty as to her matrimonial intentions.² Philip's attitude towards the matter was one of great caution and reserve, though Elizabeth's vacillations had for him the advantage that at anyrate they caused the postponement of the arrival in England of a Papal nuncio. Philip sent instructions to Granvelle that the nuncio, whose mission had been suggested, must not start until the marriage of Elizabeth and Dudley had been openly decided upon.³

In spite of the failure of Parpaglia, Pius IV. had under consideration the sending of a fresh embassy to England. The Earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth had sent to the French court to convey her condolences at the death of Francis II., had, in the course of conversation with Catherine de' Medici, dropped the remark that there were many religious parties

¹ "Aun los predicadores en los pulpitos trataban dello de manera que prejudicaban á la honra y servicio de la Reina." De la Quadra, January 23, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe, II., I., 314. "Aunque ella [Elizabeth] ve que los herejes la tratan muy mal, especialmente los predicadores, y que Roberto está peor quisto dellos que de los católicos." De la Quadra March 25, 1561, *ibid.*, 329.

² De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 19, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 585.

³ "Yo escribo [to Granvelle] que no le deje pasar hasta ver qué camino lleva la plática que os ha movido Sidney." Philip II. to De la Quadra, March 17, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 326.

in England, and that the English queen would be glad of the advice of Catherine as to how she was to act. It was, he said, her intention to put an end to the religious strife by taking part in the Council, but that it seemed to her that the powers on the north of the Alps must act together in order that the Council should be able to carry on its discussions with the necessary freedom. Elizabeth put forward this proposal merely to bring into being, under pretext of the Council, a union of the English and French Protestants against the ecumenical council. Bedford's remarks reached the ear of the Duke of Savoy through his ambassador, Morette, and were passed on by the duke to Rome, where they now took it as certain that Elizabeth would send representatives to the Council.¹ Pius IV., who had decreed the assembly of the Council of Trent on November 29th, 1560, and who was looking for the return of England to the Church by peaceful means,² now, therefore, turned his attention to the presentation of the brief of May 5th to the English queen by the hands of a nuncio, and in this way to invite her to send representatives to Trent. The Pope's choice fell upon Girolamo Martinengo, a noble

¹ De la Quadra to Philip II., March 25 and November 27, 1561, and January 10, 1562, *Corresp. de Felipe II.*, I., 326 *seq.*, 373, 378. De la Quadra to Granvelle, November 27, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 647: "El caso es que este Moretta, persuadido del Conde Betford en Francia y con desseo de hazer Cardenal al Obispo de Tolon su cuñado, hizo que el Duque su amo dio este negocio por hecho al Papa, que fue causa de la venida del Abad Martinengo." Cf. SUSTA, I., 195.

² When Mula expressed to the Pope his hope that during his pontificate he would be able at least to a great extent to restore the unity of Christendom, Pius IV. replied: "Dio il voglia, da noi non mancherà; già facemo quello che non hanno voluto far gli altri; non andamo con durezza e scomuniche, ma volemo andar con pietà e carità con tutti. Dissi che le scomuniche alienorno il regno d'In ghilterra. Si, disse, e noi vi mandamo il nostro nuntio, ch'è l'abbate vostro Martinengo, per acquittarli et farli bene, se potremo." Mula to the Doge, January 31, 1561 (*Papal Secret Archives, Miscell., Arm. III.*, 24, p. 431).

of Brescia, who, after having first refused, at length accepted the difficult mission.¹

In his instructions of March 9th, 1561,² Martinengo was told to go in the first place through Germany to Brussels, and there take counsel with Granvelle and the Duchess of Parma, and to apply for a passport to England from Elizabeth. In London he was to place himself in communication with the Spanish and French ambassadors, but he was not to take up his abode with the former, and he must have his audience of the queen without his being present. Should the passport to England be refused, or should the queen delay in making reply, the nuncio was to have recourse to Rome for further instructions. He was only to ask for the release from prison of the English bishops after the matter of the Council had been dealt with. At the beginning of April Granvelle received news that the nuncio had started from Rome.³

On this occasion as well, Philip of Spain was not at first in favour of this Papal mission to Elizabeth. At the beginning of February his representative in Rome was instructed to ask the Pope to refrain from any such step, on the ground that it was impossible, on account of the religious disturbances in France, to take energetic proceedings against the English queen.⁴ Pius IV. caused him to be informed that it was merely a matter of inviting her to the Council,⁵ yet Philip wrote to Flanders in April that the departure of Martinengo for England must be prevented.⁶ This letter, however, had no great effect

¹ Guido Gianetti to Elizabeth, and John Sheres to Cecil, dated Venice, December 21, 1560. STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign*, 1560-1, n. 815-6.

² In MEYER, 407 *seq.* Cf. PALLAVICINI, 15, 7, 1.

³ Granvelle to de la Quadra, April 4, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 544.

⁴ GACHARD, *Corresp. de Marguerite de Parme*, I., 400. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 544 n.

⁵ De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 14, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 548 *seq.*

⁶ Margaret of Parma to de la Quadra, April 21, 1561: "Su Magestad ha escrito que se estorvasse la yda del Abad" (KERVYN

upon the course of events ; on the contrary, in the opinion of the Duchess of Parma, the negotiations of de la Quadra in London had gone too far to render any interference advisable.

Elizabeth found herself in a position of no small embarrassment on account of the mission of Martinengo. She was fully resolved not to admit any nuncio to England, yet, out of consideration for Philip II., she did not dare openly to forbid him to set foot in the country. Accordingly she sought first to gain time. She told de la Quadra that she was delighted that the nuncio was coming, but that he must remember that according to the laws of the land it was impossible to give the Pope the title of universal or supreme bishop, and that he could only be entitled the Bishop of Rome.¹ On another occasion she declared that she was prepared to send representatives to the Council, and to accept its decrees, always supposing that it was a really free Council, but that she regretted that the Pope had not, as he had done in the case of the other princes, consulted her on the subject, and had thus treated her as a Protestant princess. She also said that she must have a guarantee that the bishops whom she sent would have a seat and a vote in the Council like the other Catholic bishops. By command of Elizabeth Cecil also had dealings with de la Quadra, though he went much further than the queen in the matter of making impossible conditions ; at one time he insisted that the reconciliation with Rome should be brought about by means of a conference between the representatives of the Pope and the English theologians, while at another he claimed that the Papal brief must give the queen all the titles accorded to her by English law, and that otherwise it could not be accepted.² In conversation with de la Quadra

DE LETTENHOVE, II., 555 ; omitted by MEYER, p. 34). De la Quadra was working earnestly for Martinengo, but he was unaware of the intentions of Philip II. Cf. de la Quadra to Granvelle, April 12, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 546.

¹ De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 14, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 549.

² De la Quadra to Philip II., March 25, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 330, 333 ; MEYER, 34 ; FRERE, 75.

Dudley was at pains to assure him that both he and the queen were resolved to restore the old religion in England, and that Elizabeth only wished to put an end to the religious differences.¹ At last things advanced so far that a place was arranged for the meeting between the queen and the nuncio ; Greenwich was chosen for this purpose, so as not to expose the Pope's representative to the risk of the insults of the populace in the streets of London.²

Before this, on April 12th, de la Quadra had written to the regent in the Netherlands to hurry forward Martinengo's journey, so that the queen might be forced to show her true colours.³ Margaret of Parma agreed to this, but wished that the ambassador should first obtain from Elizabeth the necessary passport for Martinengo.⁴ Cecil received the request with apparent courtesy, but on April 25th he paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador and made excuses for not being able to arrange the desired audience for the moment. When, however, he had another meeting with de la Quadra on the 28th, his attitude was very different ; by that time he had hit upon a pretext for still keeping the nuncio out of England without occasioning any great scandal. In the middle of April certain important Catholics had been imprisoned for hearing Mass, and Cecil now magnified this affair into a Catholic conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador was involved. Moreover, Pius IV. had a short time before sent a nuncio to Ireland, which fact was made use of by the Secretary of State to pretend that this nuncio was stirring up the people in that country, and that he feared the same thing might happen if Martinengo came to England. Under these circumstances Cecil declared that there could be no longer any question of giving Martinengo a passport.⁵

¹ De la Quadra to Philip II., April 15, 1561, *ibid.*, I., 339.

² *Ibid.*, 338.

³ De la Quadra to the Regent, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 545.

⁴ The Regent to de la Quadra, April 21, 1561, *ibid.*, 555.

⁵ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, *ibid.*, 559 *seq.*

On May 1st, 1561, the queen's Privy Council met at Greenwich to come to a decision as to the admission of Martinengo. Even then many of the councillors were still hesitating to exclude the nuncio from England without further consideration, when the Lord Privy Seal, Nicholas Bacon, declared that it would be high treason to vote in favour of his admission, and in the end Cecil succeeded in winning over the whole Privy Council to his view.¹

On May 5th the Spanish ambassador was summoned to hear the decision of the Privy Council. De la Quadra refused to accept this, on the ground that he was not the ambassador of the Pope; the document was, therefore, merely read to him. This document stated that the admission of a Papal envoy was contrary to the law of the land, was opposed to wise policy, and was calculated to result in disturbances and rebellion. It was, moreover, no new thing in England to refuse admission to Papal nuncios, for Queen Mary herself had done this when the Cardinal's hat had been sent to Peto from Rome.² As far as the Council was concerned, the queen wished to have nothing to do with it. It was not a free Council, and the queen had had no information as to the place where it was to assemble, or of other circumstances connected with it, as should have been the case, and as had been the case with other princes. This was not to be taken as meaning, however, that the Anglican Church would not take part if at any time the princes should assemble a Council that was universal, free, Christian and holy.³ It was quite untruthfully stated in the document that this decision had been arrived at by the Royal Council unanimously and without opposition.⁴

With this reply the separation of England from the universal Church was decided for centuries to come. Nothing but his realization of the enormous importance of this decision can explain why Pius IV., in spite of the insult offered to him, still

¹ MEYER, 35 *seq.*

² Cf. Vol XIV. of this work, p. 397.

³ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, May 6, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 564 *seq.*

⁴ MEYER, 35.

considered it his duty as supreme pastor, to let no opportunity go by of winning over the sovereign of a country which was still for the most part Catholic. The uncertainty as to her own private opinions, which Elizabeth knew very well how to keep to herself, seemed still to hold out at least a glimmer of hope, which the Pope may have considered it a matter of conscience to take into account. He therefore, on June 29th, 1561, charged Cardinal Este, who had been sent as legate to France, to open negotiations with the Queen of England as well, and to make concessions to her if she would but return to the Church.¹ When, on November 16th, the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, Morette, arrived in London on his way to Scotland, his companion, the protonotary Foix, on the strength of the remarks of the Earl of Bedford, had the boldness to seek an audience with Elizabeth. The queen made reply to his proposals that she should send representatives to Trent, by referring him to the decision of the previous May, and she accepted a letter from Cardinal Este with the remark that her ambassador, Throckmorton, would send a reply to the Cardinal.² This fresh attempt to win over Elizabeth naturally had no chance of success, but Pius IV. wished to give proofs that as far as he was concerned he had made every possible attempt, and had left nothing undone.³ Before this the nuncio in France, Gualterio, had had equally unsuccessful dealings with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was violently opposed to the Catholics.⁴ When, at the end of 1563, Thomas Sackville, the son of the under-secretary of the Treasury, Richard Sackville, came to Rome during his travels in Italy, this seemed to afford a fresh oppor-

¹ ŠUSTA, I., 196. The letters of Este concerning his negotiations with the English ambassador on January 17 and 30, 1562, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 381, 384.

² De la Quadra to Philip II., November 27, 1561, *Corresp. de Felipe II.*, I., 373, and to Granvelle, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 646 *seq.*

³ So wrote Cardinal Borromeo to Cardinal Este, January 3, 1562, in ŠUSTA, I., 335; *cf.* II., 417. The letters of Este of January 17 and 30, 1562, in BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 381, 384.

⁴ MEYER, 34.

tunity of finding out from both the son and his father whether there was any chance of the admission of a nuncio to England being allowed. At anyrate it does honour to the goodwill of Pius IV. that he should have made this attempt ; it met with no success, and Richard Sackville informed his son that no one in England would dare so much as to suggest such a thing.¹ In this way, in Rome as elsewhere, there remained for a long time great uncertainty as to the real views of the English queen.²

After the rejection of Parpaglia and Martinengo, the question whether Elizabeth should not be formally excommunicated became acute.³ In a letter dated July 16th, 1561, to his ambassador in Rome, Vargas, Philip II. was strongly opposed to such a step, on the ground that it would be impossible to give effect to a Papal excommunication by deposing Elizabeth.⁴ The Emperor Ferdinand expressed himself in a similar sense on July 19th, 1563,⁵ when a memorial⁶ from the

¹ POLLEN in *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, II., London, 1906, I *seqq.* MEYER, 45 *seq.* MAITLAND in the *English Historical Review*, XV. (1900), 757 *seqq.* Thomas Sackville (Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset) made a name for himself later as a poet.

² Even in 1581 Elizabeth succeeded in making the experienced and shrewd French ambassador Lansac believe that she was at heart a Catholic (BROSCH, VI., 589). The Protestants themselves did not feel at all certain about the queen's views. On August 10, 1565, Edward Warner wrote to Cecil from Spa that Elizabeth was seeking through an intermediary to induce the Pope to confirm the grants of benefices which she had made, and to recognize her legitimacy ; King Philip was supposed to have urged her to do this ; at anyrate such was the strong rumour which had several times come from Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, IV., 232 *seq.*

³ Borromeo to the legates of the Council, June 2, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 49.

⁴ In MIGNET, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, I., 405 *seq.* MEYER, 36.

⁵ Letter to the orators of the Council, in SICKEL, *Konzil*, 551 *seq.* Cf. ŠUSTA, IV., 97.

⁶ In BUCHOLTZ, IX., 700 *seq.*, and contained in a letter from the Imperial envoys to Ferdinand, June 12, 1563. Cf. ŠUSTA, IV., 87. A memorial urging the excommunication of Elizabeth is also to be seen in the *English Hist. Rev.*, VII. (1892), 82-4.

English Catholics in Flanders had put forward the suggestion that the Council of Trent should at least make a declaration that Elizabeth deserved to be excommunicated, even though the carrying into effect of the ecclesiastical censure might have to be deferred. Granvelle in like manner, in a memorandum to the Council, advised strongly against the excommunication.¹ The Papal legates at Trent approved the Emperor's views.² The Pope did the same on July 6th,³ although he had been inclined a short time before to decide in the sense suggested by the aforesaid English memorial.⁴ This set forth the view that the Catholics in England were confidently awaiting a declaration by the Council against Elizabeth, and that unless this were made the assembly would forfeit all respect in their opinion. There was no need to be held back by the fear least such a step against Elizabeth would prejudice the position of the English Catholics, since the latter would willingly bear any such increase in their sufferings if only the Council would speak out on their behalf.⁵

The fear that Elizabeth would retaliate by taking fresh steps against her Catholic subjects was well founded. The mission of the two nuncios, Parpaglia and Martinengo, had already brought about a change for the worse in the position of the English Catholics. During the first years of Elizabeth the cruel religious laws had only been enforced with full severity in the case of the Catholic bishops who had remained true to their duty, though, even in their case, the government

¹ POULLET, I., 551 ; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 115 ; MEYER, 43.

² SICKEL, Konzil, 555 ; MEYER, 410 *seq* ; ŠUSTA, IV., III.

³ MEYER, 410 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 117.

⁴ MEYER, 409. On October 31, 1563, Pius IV. informed Philip II. that the excommunication of Elizabeth had been postponed out of consideration for the Spanish king. Philip, on his part, begged Elizabeth not to persecute the bishops and the other Catholics. RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 179. Cf. ŠUSTA, IV., 139.

⁵ A second part of the memorial, which was not put forward for discussion by the Papal legates at Trent, dealt with the transference of the English crown to a Catholic prince, who was to marry Mary Stuart. BUCHOLTZ, IX., 701.

had taken good care not to go to the length of shedding their blood.¹ Two of the bishops were thrown into prison as early as the beginning of April, 1559, probably in order to remove from Parliament some who would be opposed to the new religious laws.² By the end of 1559, however, the only ones who retained their sees were Stanley of Sodor and Man, and the apostate Kitchin of Llandaff, all the others having been deposed during the course of the year. The penalty of imprisonment followed that of deposition, the eighty-five year old Tunstall of Durham being thus imprisoned in the palace of the Anglican archbishop Parker, while Baine of Coventry-Lichfield and Oglethorp of Carlisle were kept in custody in the house of Grindal, Bishop of London, a form of imprisonment more unpleasant to the prisoners than incarceration in the Tower. These three bishops died before the end of 1559. On January 12th, 1560, White of Winchester also died in the custody of his relatives, from fever which he had contracted during his long imprisonment in the Tower. Morgan of St. David's, who also did not outlive 1559, remained at liberty until the time of his death. In June, 1559, Goldwell of St. Asaph succeeded in escaping to the continent. Poole of Peterborough was allowed to remain at liberty in London, within a three mile radius.

Of the remaining bishops eight were thrown into the Tower or other prisons during May and June, 1560; Parpagalia wrote³ that this was probably due to the suspicions aroused by his prospective mission rather than to any other cause. The prisoners were treated with extreme severity; when the arrival of Martinego was expected, and an intercepted letter

¹ BRIDGETT-KNOX, *The true history of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Elizabeth*, London, 1889; G. E. PHILLIPS, *The extinction of the ancient Hierarchy*, London, 1906; the same in the *Dublin Review*, CXLII. (1908), 315 *seqq.* BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CV. (1890), 278 *seqq.*, CXXXVI. (1908), 891 *seqq.* SPILLMANN, II., 34 *seqq.* For Bourne *cf.* BIRT in the *Dublin Review*, CXXI. (1897), 134 *seqq.*

² *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 411.

³ September, 8, 1560, in STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign*, 1560-1561, n. 507.

from the Tower expressed the hope that before long the imprisoned bishops would at least recover their liberty through the intervention of the Pope and the King of Spain, all communication with the outside world was refused them.¹ It must be added that their life was in constant danger, while the successes of the Huguenots in France encouraged the government in December, 1562, to demand the taking of the oath of supremacy from the imprisoned bishops under threat of death.² At the opening of Parliament on January 12th, 1563, the principal theme of the Protestant preachers, both at Westminster before the queen, and at St. Paul's before the convocation of clergy, was the necessity of putting to death "the caged wolves."³

Elizabeth did not dare, however, further to provoke the Catholics before the conclusion of the war with France.⁴ When she became afraid lest the French should stir up a rebellion in England the treatment of the bishops became much less severe than it had been before. Elizabeth gave back his liberty to the Archbishop of York, Heath, who was ill, about the middle of the year.⁵ At the intercession of the Emperor Ferdinand,⁶ Thirlby of Ely, Turberville of Exeter, Bourne

¹ De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 20, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 553 *seq.*; *cf.* 559. As the Warden of the Tower stated, they were still, on June 14, 1562, in "strict solitary imprisonment" (Hist.-pol. Blätter, CV., 287). Pius IV. tried to send them help in money by the hands of de la Quadra, but they were not to know whence it came. Philip II. to de la Quadra, March 17, 1561, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 325. *Cf.* also ŠUSTA, IV., 168, n. 3, 187 *seq.*

² De la Quadra to Granvelle, Dec. 13, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 209.

³ De la Quadra to Carlo de Giesso, January 14, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 234.

⁴ De la Quadra to Granvelle, May 1, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 366: "Hasta tener concluyda la paz con Francia, no osara venir la Reina a la execucion destos Catholicos."

⁵ De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 3, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 499.

⁶ A letter of his was already in the hands of de la Quadra at the beginning of May (de la Quadra to Granvelle, May 1, 1563, *ibid.*,

of Bath and Wells, Pate of Worcester, and Watson of Lincoln were released from the Tower and handed over to the custody of Anglican bishops, though even so their imprisonment was very strict. Only thoroughly Protestant servants were allowed to approach them, their custodians were not allowed, as was customary, to invite them to their table, but had to send them their meagre rations to their rooms; they were given nothing but Protestant books to read, they were forbidden to practise Catholic worship, and whenever possible they were forced to attend Protestant services and sermons.¹ Only Archbishop Heath was allowed to remain in his own house; Scott of Chester, who was released from prison in 1564, and placed under police surveillance, escaped to Louvain, where he died in the following year.

The intercession of the Emperor had only succeeded for a short time in opening the gates of the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark to Bonner, Bishop of London, who was the most hated and feared of all the Catholic prelates. In 1564 an attempt was made to implicate him in fresh charges. The Protestant bishop, Horne, in whose diocese Southwark was situated, was deputed once again to make the attempt to get him to take the oath of supremacy,² but Bonner was able to resist all his efforts in the most brilliant manner. He proved in an elaborate treatise that the Act of Supremacy was contrary to law, and that Horne was not a person competent to exact the oath of supremacy, because he could not, even in English law, be considered a bishop. The proofs adduced by this able jurist were irrefutable, since both the consecration of the English bishops, and the Act of Supremacy, were, even under English law, full of illegalities.³ All further

III., 365). A second letter, of September 24, only arrived after the bishops had been liberated (*Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CV., 288).

¹ Orders of the Privy Council; see SPILLMANN II., 47.

² Luis Roman to Margaret of Parma, April 29, 1564, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, IV., 13 *seq.*

³ The Act of Supremacy had been passed by the Upper and Lower Houses, but not, as was also necessary, by Convocation. It was therefore illegal. Parker, the consecrator of Horne, had

efforts to induce Bonner to take the oath of supremacy were given up, and in 1566 an attempt was made to remedy the legal defects which he had pointed out by means of a Parliamentary enactment.¹

The arguments put forward by Bonner, did not, of course, induce the government to restore the ancient hierarchy. With the death of Watson of Lincoln on September 27th, 1584, after 26 years imprisonment, the last remaining Catholic bishop in England died. When, a year later, Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, also died in Rome, the ancient English hierarchy became extinct. By the Catholics the imprisoned bishops were looked upon as almost martyrs; they realized that the extreme penalty had been withheld in their case merely in order that they might be deprived of the glory of martyrdom, and that their long drawn out suffering was worse than a violent death.²

As had been the case with the bishops, the full rigour of the penal laws was not immediately put into force against the Catholic body in general. The Acts of Parliament which abolished the supremacy of the Pope and the Mass, and enforced attendance at Protestant worship,³ received the royal assent on May 8th, 1559. In giving this the queen expressed her thanks for the care and moderation which had marked the debates, and promised to enforce these wise new laws which were so necessary for the maintenance of peace, justice,

been ordained according to the ordinal of Edward VI., for at the time of his consecration the Roman pontifical had quite certainly been abolished, but Parliament had forgotten to take steps to introduce the ordinal of Edward VI. Moreover, even according to English law, the consecration had to be performed by an archbishop and two bishops. Thus, at Parker's consecration, there could not have been any archbishop, and the four ecclesiastical dignitaries who took part in the consecration were all deposed bishops.

¹ FRERE, 130 *seqq.*

² Cf. the remarks of Sander and Allen in PHILLIPS, Dublin Review, CXLII. (1908), 319.

³ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 410.

and religious unity.¹ The first steps in this direction were taken in June ; England was divided into six districts, and visitors were appointed ; these were, in the case of the counties, chosen principally from the nobility, but each visiting commission had attached to it a lawyer, or at least a theologian. It was the duty of the visitors above all to exact the oath of supremacy from the clergy, and to introduce the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Inspectors were to be appointed in every parish, who were to denounce all those who, without valid excuse, were absent from divine worship. Besides this they were to remove all traces of the old religious practices, and especially to replace the altars with simple tables. It was also their duty to destroy in private houses, reliquaries, pictures and images.² A number of other regulations dealt with the introduction of the new religious conditions.³

We only have full reports of the proceedings of these visitations in the case of southern England. Although the commission nowhere found any enthusiasm for the new religion, it yet did not there meet with any strong opposition. At Durham, however, the episcopal city of the much-loved Bishop Tunstall, the chapter declared, almost to a man, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority in England belonged to the Pope ;⁴ at York a fourth part of the clergy refused to present themselves to take the oath, and a similar state of affairs was found at Chester and Carlisle. In other places, however, the parochial clergy showed themselves very compliant. The commission proceeded with great caution, gave

¹ FRERE, 30 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 35 *seqq.* According to Frere (p. 39) the action of the government was illegal because both the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity lacked the approval of Convocation. He justifies it by stating that " a religious revolution, like any other revolution, must risk technical illegalities."

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 42. Cf. STEVENSON in *The Month*, LXXIX. (1893), 24 *seqq.*

time for consideration to those who refused the oath, and only deprived very few of their offices.¹

In London, the headquarters of Protestantism, the change of religion was received by the people with unconcealed joy. In the cathedral church of St. Paul the visitors gave instructions for the destruction of the images, crucifixes and altars, and the order was eagerly carried out.² In September, 1559, the Spanish ambassador wrote that the state of religion was worse than it had ever been ; for eight days, he said, they had not ceased to burn crucifixes, images, vestments and sacred objects, and they were proceeding with such violence against those who refused the oath or to obey, that it seemed likely that in the course of a few days Elizabeth would burn more Catholics than her sister had sent heretics to the flames during her whole reign.³ For three weeks the populace was allowed to give free vent to its rage.⁴

The royal visitations came to an end in October, 1559.

¹ FRERE, 41 *seq.* Creighton maintains that out of 9400 ecclesiastics only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. Against this, according to the calculations of J. FORBES in *Revue des quest. hist.*, LVIII. (1895), 456, 517, and H. N. BIRT (*The Elizabethan religious settlement*, London, 1907) it is clear that in 1559 there were only about 7500 ecclesiastics, and that for the years 1559-1565 the names of about 700 are given who suffered deprivation. At the same time 1934 prebends disappear from the lists between June, 1559, and the end of 1565, without counting new appointments. Birt therefore is of opinion that about 2000 priests refused the oath of supremacy. The question, however, is one that calls for further inquiry ; it must in any case be admitted that the majority of the clergy did not show themselves staunch to their principles. Cf. *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXXIII. (1912), 146 *seq.* *Dublin Review*, CXLIII. (1908), 212 *seq.*

² FRERE, 42.

³ De la Quadra to Granvelle, September 2, 1559, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE II., 13. As early as July 13, 1559, de la Quadra wrote to Philip : " haberse comenzado á ejecutar las leyes del Parlamento en las cosas de la religion muy rigurosamente." *Corresp. de Felipe II.*, I., 220.

⁴ FRERE, 42.

In the meantime, on July 19th, a central permanent commission, consisting of three ecclesiastics, eight lawyers, and eight other laymen, had been set up; this was to carry out the royal power of visitation, give effect to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, watch over the attendance at divine worship, and see to other ecclesiastical ordinances. The task of exacting the oath of supremacy was also laid upon this commission in October. It began its work in November¹, and in the following year the newly-appointed Anglican bishops again took up the work of visitation.

The results of these episcopal visitations were by no means satisfactory to the friends of the new ecclesiastical conditions. Many of the clergy still maintained "externally the dress, and in their hearts the religious opinions which they had inherited from the days of Papal rule, and they bewitched the eyes and ears of the populace to such an extent that people might suppose either that Papal doctrines had not yet been abolished or would shortly be restored."² At Hereford the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady was still solemnly celebrated, and a strict fast observed on the vigil. Some who had refused to take the oath, and had been driven from Exeter, Worcester, and other places were lodged and entertained by the justices of the peace, and honoured with a torch-light procession, while the Anglican bishop was a stranger in his own diocese.³ At Winchester many of the laity escaped the visitation by changing their houses, and special difficulties were encountered in the case of the leading Catholics in the country districts. Six months later the Book of Common Prayer was still not in general use.⁴ The University of Oxford was a stronghold of Catholic doctrine. Bishop Horne of Winchester wrote to Cecil that if he were to take strict proceedings scarcely two people would be left in any house.⁵ In the diocese of Carlisle the clergy were, it is true, ready to

¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

² *Ibid.*, 58.

³ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 65. The Mayor of Oxford declared in 1561 that there were not three houses in which there were not Papists; De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Nov. 15, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 643.

subscribe to the oath, but the Anglican bishop himself admitted that this compliance was merely the result of fear.¹ Pilkington, the Bishop of Durham, compared his visitation to a struggle with wild beasts, worse than that which Paul had to undergo at Ephesus.²

Reports of Catholic origin make it clear, no less than these Protestant evidences, that by far the greater part of England, during the first years of Elizabeth, was still firmly attached in its opinions to the old religion. The populace, wrote Sanders to Cardinal Morone about 1561, is composed of peasants, shepherds and artisans ; the peasants and shepherds are all Catholics, but some of the artisans are schismatics. The more distant parts of the country are still very far from being heretical, as for example, Wales, Devon, Westmoreland, and Northumberland. Since the cities of England are few and small, and since heresy has no hold in the country districts, it is the opinion of competent judges that not more than one per cent. of the English people is infected. The Lutherans therefore speak of their adherents as "a little flock"³ De la Quadra wrote on January 16th, 1560, that the sacraments were still dispensed in England with the same frequency as of old, but in secret, and that in London many masses were celebrated every day.⁴

Nevertheless England was lost to the Catholic Church. The followers of the old religion had no leader, they had no organization, and above all they had no clear principles. The Book of Common Prayer was made up of psalms, of passages from Scripture, and of prayers which could also be found in the Roman Missal. Many who passed as good Catholics persuaded themselves that it was sufficient to maintain their faith in their hearts, and that they could obey the civil authority in externals, such as singing the psalms and

¹ FRERE, 67.

² *Ibid.*

³ Publications of the Catholic Record Society, I. Cf. The Month, 1905, II., 547 *seq.*

⁴ To Count Feria, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 186.

reading the Bible.¹ At the same time they allowed themselves to attend the Protestant churches and services, and sought to quiet their consciences by blocking their ears with wool, so as not to hear the Anglican sermons.² There were even priests who secretly offered the sacrifice of the Mass, and in public celebrated the Protestant worship, while some of the laity even went so far as to receive the Anglican communion,³ which in their opinion was nothing but a little bread and wine. The want of clearness of ideas on the subject was so great that, in 1562, some Catholics thought of putting before the Council of Trent the question whether it was lawful to assist at Anglican services and sermons. De la Quadra sent a request to Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, that he would, by the Pope's orders, submit this question to certain theologians of the Inquisition. The reply of the Roman tribunal was a clear and decided negative.⁴ In spite of this, however, in 1592, Cardinal Allen found himself obliged to exhort the priests in England to be very careful not to teach or defend the view that it was lawful to take part in Protestant worship.⁵

In view of this confusion as to questions of principle it is easy to understand how it was that the great majority of the clergy, in spite of their internal reluctance, accepted the oath of supremacy, and were followed in so doing by their flocks. On the other hand, the same thing explains why the govern-

¹ Report of Allen as to his work in England during the years 1562-1565, in Bellesheim, ALLEN, 18.

² Stone in Dublin Review, CIX. (1891), 322.

³ BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*

⁴ De la Quadra to Philip II., November 8, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 425 *seq.* The letter of de la Quadra to Vargas, August 7, 1562, in an English translation in MAITLAND, English Hist. Rev., XV. (1900), 531, where is also given (p. 531 *seq.*) in the original Latin, the request to the Inquisition and the latter's reply. Another memorial from the English Catholics on the same subject was also sent to the Council by means of the Portuguese ambassador at Trent, Mascareynas. SUSTA, II., 297.

⁵ BELLESHEIM, *loc. cit.*, 18, n.

ment did not find it necessary to put the laws against the Catholics into force with extreme rigour, at anyrate, for the moment ; so long as the majority of the adherents of the old religion conformed outwardly and attended the Protestant worship, the new religion was bound, by slow degrees, and as it were naturally, to take root in their hearts. The fears inspired by the frightful penalties of the law worked in the same direction.

The aim of the new penal laws of 1563 was to add to these fears.¹ While hitherto the penalties of *praemunire* and high treason had been attached only to the second or third offence against the Act of Supremacy, they were now to be incurred at the first or second act of defence of the Papal authority. At the same time the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy was extended to two further classes of persons ; in the first place to all members of the House of Commons, and to all school-masters and lawyers, and secondly to all those who had ever held any ecclesiastical office, who openly showed disapproval of the State religion, or who celebrated or heard Mass. To those of the former class, the oath could only be offered once, and that under penalty of death. " The amazing violence and unlawful audacity of the followers of the Bishop of Rome " were given as the excuse for this extraordinary severity.² This excuse, however, was quite without foundation as far as the English Catholics were concerned ; Lord Montague was quite right in stating in the Upper House that it was a well-known fact that the Catholics had not caused any disturbances in the kingdom. They did not hold disputations and they did not preach, they did not disobey the queen, nor did they put forward any new doctrines or tenets.³ Elizabeth, however, often complained of the hostility of the Guise in France, and at the end of 1562, in connection with the so-called conspiracy of the two Poles, she raised an outcry that they " were cultivating relations in this kingdom with

¹ LINGARD, VII., 316.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

rebels and enemies of the crown.”¹ These complaints, however, were but an excuse.

Arthur Pole, the nephew of Cardinal Pole, had, as the representative of the White Rose, certain claims to the English crown.² This young man, who was of a restless spirit, and combined great audacity with very little prudence or capacity,³ had at first offered his services to the English queen, but had been rejected; in 1561 he had been placed in the Tower with Waldgrave because he was suspected of being a Catholic and the government distrusted him.⁴ By the advice of certain sorcerers,⁵ he determined to leave England in September, 1562, as de la Quadra informs us,⁶ nominally on account of his religious opinions, but in reality to seek his fortune and, by the help of the Catholics, to obtain possession of the English crown.⁷ De la Quadra and the French ambassador, Foix, to whom he turned for aid, refused to help the visionary,⁸ who, when he was on point of taking ship, was imprisoned at the instance of an informer.⁹ He then confessed that it was his intention to take service under the Guise in France, to marry his brother Edmund to Mary Stuart, and himself become Duke of Clarence.¹⁰ The condemnation

¹ De la Quadra to Philip II., December 6, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 438.

² Cf. POLLARD in the Dictionary of National Biography, XLVI., 19.

³ De la Quadra thus describes him in his letter to Philip II., September 15, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 421.

⁴ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 561.

⁵ De la Quadra to the same, December 19, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 215.

⁶ To Philip II., September 15, 1562, Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 421.

⁷ “Pretender las sucesiones deste Reino con el favor de los católicos.” *Ibid.*

⁸ De la Quadra, *ibid.*

⁹ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, October 17, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 166 *seq.*

¹⁰ De la Quadra to the same, December 19, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 215.

to death of the two brothers was not carried into effect, and they remained in the Tower till their death.¹

While the new religious laws were in preparation, the preachers fulminated in every pulpit against the "papists" giving as their reason the anti-Protestant demonstrations in Paris. There was never a sermon, wrote de la Quadra, which did not urge the killing of the Catholics; at the same time Cecil and his party were working for the same end. Had they but dared, scarcely a Catholic in the country would have been safe.² But for the moment there could be no question of carrying out the religious laws in their full rigour; the duty of receiving the oath of supremacy was reserved to the Anglican bishops. At the suggestion of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker gave his suffragans instructions in a secret letter never to demand the oath a second time without first laying the full details of the case before him. It was also expressly forbidden by the queen that the oath should again be offered to the bishops in prison.³

By this insistence on the oath of supremacy Catholics were excluded from Parliament and from any kind of office; in this way they were bound to become a despised caste, and they and their religion robbed of all respect.⁴ Frequent sermons on the pretensions of the Pope and the abominations of the Mass were formally ordered at the visitation of the diocese of Winchester in 1562.⁵ The most unseemly parodies

¹ POLLARD, *loc. cit.*

² Nunca los predicadores de aquí hacen sermon en que no inciten al pueblo á degollar á los papistas, y el mismo Sicel y los de su liga nunca tratan de otro, y si osasen, bien creo que no quedaria católico en el Reino que no fuese degollado; pero son muchos los buenos y se venderian caros siempre que á esto se viniese. Corresp. de Felipe II., de la Quadra to Philip II., January 10, 1563. Vol. I., 464.

³ LINGARD, VII., 318; FRERE, 102.

⁴ Cecil gives this advice in his "Device for the alteration of religion," in BURNET, *History of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, V., 497.

⁵ FRERE, 65.

of the old religion were openly tolerated and approved, and on January 6th, 1559, in a comedy of this kind, at which the queen was present, crows were represented in the cardinalitial dress, asses in episcopal vestments, while wolves appeared as Catholic abbots.¹ Pamphlets, issued with episcopal approbation, dragged in the mire everything Catholic, at home and abroad.² The English Catholics were more heavily burdened with taxes than their fellow-subjects, while a custom grew up by which, whenever the Treasury was in special need of funds, the government had the right to levy so-called "loans" from private individuals, though everyone knew that they would never be repaid. The Catholics were especially liable to demands of this sort, sometimes to the extent of a hundred pounds sterling a head.³ The war with France, which was essentially waged in order to assist the Huguenots against the French Catholics, was paid for, for the most part, with Catholic money.⁴ But the most oppressive burden upon those who professed the old faith was the tax levied for non-attendance at Protestant worship. The ordinary individual

¹ Schifanoia, January 23, 1559, in BROWN-BENTINCK, VII., n. 10. De la Quadra wrote on October 3, 1562, to Margaret of Parma, concerning a comedy, in which Pietro Soto, confessor of Charles V., and professor at Oxford under Mary, and the well-known theologian Malvenda, urged fratricide (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 154). When, however, the students of Cambridge went to the length of deriding the much venerated imprisoned bishops in a comedy, this was more than the queen could allow, and she left the place with her torch-bearers, leaving the performers in the dark. Guzman de Silva to Margaret of Parma, August 19, 1564, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, VI., n. 88.

² De la Quadra to Philip II., August, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 609 n.

³ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, December 19, 1562, *ibid.* III., 215; *cf.* 209. d'Assonleville to the same, April 24, 1563, *ibid.*, 355.

⁴ "Bellum gallicum, ad quod plus pecuniae contribuere coacti sunt illi, qui catholici habentur, quam alii." Petition of the English Catholics to the Council of Trent, 1563, in BUCHOLTZ, IX., 703.

might escape taking the oath of supremacy, he might retire from any official position, but the terrible obligation of attending Protestant worship was brought home to him week after week, and he could not comply with this without denying his faith and his conscience, though the penalty for non-attendance, a shilling for each offence, was ruinous to a man of small means at a time when the value of money was ten or twelve times as great as at the present day. Attendance at Mass, on the other hand, was punished by the truly enormous fine of at least a hundred marks.¹

Few records have been preserved of the carrying out of these penal laws during the first years of Elizabeth. In the beginning extreme measures were only adopted when it was a case of bringing home the law, or when some political object was involved. When it was reported to the queen that the Catholic worship was still being carried on in several parts of London, she caused the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors to be visited during the time of Mass on the feast of the Purification (February 2nd), 1560, and imprisoned all who were assisting at Mass at the French embassy. The excuse she gave for this arbitrary proceeding was her fear that, under the guise of religious worship, intrigues were being carried on with the French ambassador; Elizabeth was very anxious to prevent Catholics from attending secret meetings,² and on the same day she therefore had others, both priests and laymen, who had celebrated or heard Mass, thrown into prison.³ During May, June, and September, 1560, further severe penalties against the adherents of the old religion were formulated.⁴ In April, 1561, when the immediate arrival

¹ One mark was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence; 100 marks was therefore in modern currency equivalent to 13,000 marks.

² De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, February 7, 1560, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 223.

³ TRÉSAL, 409.

⁴ The Month, 1904, II., 507. A list of those imprisoned for celebrating or hearing Mass during the first 10 years of Elizabeth, *ibid.* 1909, II., 307-311. Cf. Publ. of the Cath. Record Society, I., 45, 49 *seqq.*; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580, p. 173 *seq.*, 321, Addenda 1545-1565, F. 510, 524.

of the Papal nuncio, Martinengo, was expected, Cecil seized upon a pretext, quite insignificant in itself, for proving the hostility of the Catholics towards the state, and for taking severe measures against them. An English priest, who was embarking for Flanders, was recognized at Gravesend by his rosary and breviary, and thrown into prison; terrified by threats he made the following admissions: he was the chaplain of Sir Edward Waldgrave, a former councillor of Queen Mary; he was on his way to Flanders to distribute alms among the poor Catholic refugees; Mass was celebrated every day at the house of Waldgrave, where three or four priests dispensed the Sacraments. He also gave the names of a large number of noblemen and others who were accustomed to meet there.¹ Cecil magnified all this into a formal "papistical" conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador and the imprisoned bishops were involved,² and thus succeeded in providing a plausible reason for keeping Martinengo out of England. On April 20th the prisoners were taken under strong escort through the streets of London to the Tower,³ and soon afterwards sixty more, all of them noblemen and persons of importance, were thrown into prison.⁴ The persecution of the Catholics, the Spanish ambassador wrote on May 12th, 1561,⁵ is proceeding apace; in some places the mayors and town councillors have been put into prison for ill-treating, or not treating with due respect, the new preachers. The cause of religion, he writes

¹ De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 20, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 553 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*

³ De la Quadra to Granvelle, April 21, 1561, *ibid.*, II., 557.

⁴ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, April 28, 1561, *ibid.*, II., 560. According to the report of Sanders to Cardinal Morone, in addition to those imprisoned with Waldgrave, there were at that time in the Tower, for having heard Mass, 10 students of civil law, and 160 other persons. *Publ. of Cath. Record Soc.*, I., 45. *The Month*, 1909, II., 309. *Cf.* de la Quadra to Philip II., May 5, 1561: "de los quales [católicos] tiene [the queen] las carceles llenas y cada dia se prenden más." *Corresp. de Felipe II.* I., 351.

⁵ To Granvelle, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 568.

again in August of the same year,¹ is getting steadily worse ; the Catholics are dying out, and those who remain are persecuted and forced into apostasy ; the governor of Guernsey, one of the most determined and worthy men in the kingdom, is dead, and Waldgrave will soon follow him ; Lords Ludburn and Wharton have allowed themselves to be persuaded to take the oath of supremacy in order to regain their liberty, while in the prisons death by starvation is carrying off those who remain steadfast.² In the middle of November six Catholic students of Oxford were sent to the Tower because they would not consent to the removal of a crucifix from their college chapel.³

The outbreak of hatred against the Catholics, which came to a head in the severe laws of 1563, had already shown itself in the August of the previous year. Whereas hitherto only three commissioners had been charged with the task of proceeding against the Catholics, fifty were appointed on July 30th, and there was every likelihood that the sword would now be employed against the adherents of the old religion.⁴ Priests who refused to take the oath of supremacy were kept under strict supervision ; they were obliged to live within certain areas, where they could more easily be watched ; lists of "recusants" were drawn up, and arrests and imprisonments became more and more common.⁵ Towards the end of

¹ To Philip II., *ibid.*, 608 *seq.* n.

² Waldgrave died in September, 1561. He had paid the fine of 200 ducats for having heard Mass, but he was not released from prison because he had given 10,000 ducats as alms to poor Catholics. The day before his death he ordered that all his property should also be divided among poor Catholics (de la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, September 6, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 620 *seq.* Cf. de la Quadra to Philip II., June 3, 1561 : "No quieren admitirlos á la pena del Estatuto porque están determinados de no soltarlos." Corresp. de Felipe II., II., 358).

³ De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Nov. 15, 1561, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 643.

⁴ De la Quadra to Granvelle, Aug. 29, 1562, *ibid.*, III., 124. FRERE, 80.

⁵ FRERE, 80.

1562 the Spanish ambassador thought there was reason to fear "terrible cruelty" against the Catholic prisoners in the Tower, even though the state of those imprisoned there was already so bad that they told the Warden of the Tower that they would rather be executed, "and to-day rather than to-morrow."¹ About the same time the authorities even ventured on the hitherto unheard of act of violating the privileges of the foreign embassies; all foreigners in London, including all persons who were not naturalized, were forbidden to hear Mass at the house of the Spanish ambassador.² In the following January the government even went so far as to close the doors of the Spanish embassy between the hours of 9 and 1, so that no one might be able to attend Mass there.³ According to a letter from de la Quadra, Elizabeth, at the end of February, promised those who were in prison for hearing Mass that they should again be permitted to resume their old manner of life, but, he adds that the queen must have changed her mind as to this, since the prisons were still filled with such prisoners.⁴ In the July of that year, however, Elizabeth was, at least for the moment, more mercifully inclined towards the Catholics.⁵

Side by side with this persecution of the old Church went various attempts to consolidate the new religion. Since the May and June of 1559, only two of the old bishops had not been deprived of their sees; these were Kitchin and Stanley; it was therefore necessary, before everything else, to set up

¹ "lo que han respondido al Castellano del Torre que los tiene presos es, que antes oy que mañana dessean que les acaben la mala vida que passan." De la Quadra to Granvelle, Dec. 27, 1562, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 223.

² *Ibid.*

³ Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 439 *seqq.*, 484 *seqq.* De la Quadra to Margaret of Parma, Jan. 10, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 226. The reply of the royal council to the complaints of de la Quadra on Jan. 7, 1563, in Corresp. de Felipe II., I., 448; summary in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1563, n. 44, p. 25, 27.

⁴ To Margaret of Parma, Feb. 27, 1563, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, III., 259: "y assi se tienen las carceles llenas dellos."

⁵ De la Quadra to Granvelle, July 3, 1563, *ibid.*, III., 499.

a new hierarchy. Elizabeth, however, was in no particular hurry to do this ; Parliament had given the government the right to exchange Church property for other ecclesiastical goods which had already been confiscated, and the queen wished to see this exchange completed before she nominated new bishops. Matthew Parker had been chosen as Archbishop of Canterbury, and head of the new Anglican hierarchy in December, 1558. On August 1st, 1559, he was elected by the chapter of Canterbury, and consecrated on December 17th in the episcopal palace of Lambeth. Many difficulties, even from the point of view of English law,¹ were raised as to the legality of this consecration, but the queen, by means of a clause in the deed of appointment of Parker, supplied for all these defects.² By March, 1560, thirteen new bishops had been appointed, eleven of whom received their consecration at the hands of Parker ; thus sixteen of the twenty-seven English sees were again filled.

The new bishops found their dioceses in a lamentable condition. In the archdeaconry of Colchester about a third part of the parishes had no pastor in 1563, and ten parishes in Colchester itself were vacant ; three years later, out of 850 benefices in the diocese of London, about 100 were unfilled.³ At Rochester only 13 of the 64 parish priests were able to preach, yet this, in comparison with other dioceses, was a very favourable state of affairs.⁴ Grindal, the Bishop of London, ordained 100 clerics in four ordinations, while Parker ordained 150 in a single day, many of whom were ignorant artisans.⁵ In a speech at the opening of Parliament in 1563 it was stated that the preachers had no zeal, and that the laity refused to listen to the doctrine approved by the state. There were, it was stated, very few ecclesiastics, and many of these were quite incapable ; discipline was relaxed to such an extent that

¹ See *supra* p. 237 *seq.*

² FRERE, 5, 46-49.

³ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

everyone lived just as he liked and without fear of punishment.¹

Besides this, the Protestants were divided among themselves. Many who had fled to the continent under Queen Mary, had developed a taste for Calvinism in Switzerland; to such as these Anglicanism seemed to be a mixture of Catholicism and Protestantism, and by no means in conformity with the "word of God." Even many of the bishops were inclined to this so-called Puritanism.² The differences of opinion showed themselves at first in comparatively trifling matters, as for example whether it was lawful at divine worship to retain any of the vestments which had been used in the old Church, the use of which was still permitted by the Book of Common Prayer.³

The queen herself in many things clung to the external forms of the religion to which she had been accustomed since her youth. In her own chapel, a cross with two candles was before long replaced upon the altar, and she persisted in this in spite of the indignation of the Calvinists at such "a scandalous proceeding."⁴ Still more remarkable was Elizabeth's dislike for married clergy, and it was only with great difficulty that Cecil dissuaded her from her intention of imposing the vow of celibacy on her clergy.⁵

The people were not asked for their opinion as to reform. Externally they obeyed the violence done to their consciences, but in their hearts they long remained attached to the old worship.⁶ The effect of the anti-Catholic legislation was not

¹ *Ibid.*, 95. The position of the new bishops was by no means an enviable one in other ways as well. Cf. J. N. BIRT in *Dublin Review*, CXXI. (1897), 125 *seqq.*

² FRERE, 8 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*, 111 *seqq.* Even the use of the ring at marriages was attacked by the Puritans. *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*

⁶ "To tell the truth" says (p. 129 *seq.*) the Protestant Frere, by no means friendly to Catholics, "the immediate results of what was called reform, were not calculated to make it popular

to produce enthusiasm for the new religion, but rather a growing indifference to all religion.¹ The truth was that comparatively few people had the moral courage to sacrifice their property and their liberty rather than act against their conscience, or to submit to the hardships of a voluntary exile from their country,² but those who did so were the noblest of their nation, and the glory of England and the Catholic Church.

among those who still clung to what, in the language of the time, was known as 'the old religion.' There was much talk of the restoration of purity of faith and worship, on the model of primitive times. But what people saw with their own eyes as the immediate result of the change was the profanation of churches by means of iconoclasm, the destruction of altars, the burning of the sacred objects in the churches, and contempt of pious usages. Impious mockery of the Eucharist was not merely a temporary outburst of the first days of reaction, but was considered as a suitable subject for jesting, in order to amuse the queen and her court on the occasion of her visit to Cambridge in 1564. Strong measures were taken to restore the communion, but the immediate result was that the celebration of the Eucharist became more and more rare. Efforts were also made to revive the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and for this purpose a system of daily divine service was introduced. But the immediate result was a falling off of daily worship. In his youth the recusant had been accustomed to see the churches filled day after day with worshippers, but now the doors of the churches began to remain closed from Monday to Saturday, the people discontinued their daily visits to the church, and contented themselves with attendance at divine worship on Sunday, with an occasional communion for appearance sake. It cannot cause surprise that to many people, and those the best, even the abuses of the old system were more dear than the reforms of the new."

¹ According to FRERE, 94, Parker, at the opening of convocation in 1563, urged "reform of that growing negligence of the people in worship which followed upon the Act of Uniformity and its system of enforcing church attendance by civil compulsion."

² Cf. R. LECHAT, *Les Réfugiés Anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols, 1568 à 1603*, Louvain, 1914.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

IN Scotland, where, since the XVth century the minority of three kings in succession had given a great impulse to the excessive influence of a depraved nobility,¹ both the political and religious revolutions made great strides when, in 1542, after the death of James V., a new minority began. The heir to the crown, Mary Stuart, was but a few days old when her father died, and from the time of her sixth year she had been in France as the destined bride of Francis II. She had been driven abroad by the violence of Henry VIII., who wished forcibly to obtain her hand for his own son by means of a series of plundering campaigns, and in France she was more and more lost sight of by her future subjects.²

In the meantime the young queen's kingdom was thrown into a state of anarchy and awful confusion by the campaigns of Henry VIII. In 1543, Lord Hertford was expressly charged by the English king to lay waste the northern kingdom with fire and sword.³ Edinburgh was in flames for three

¹ James II., James III., and James V. all came to the throne as minors. Before that the imprisonment in England for many years of James I. had made a regency necessary (BELLESHEIM, I., 270 *seqq.*, 286 *seqq.*, 306 *seqq.*). HOSACK (I., 2) says of the Scottish aristocracy of the time: "Scotland was oppressed by a nobility the most rapacious and corrupt that probably ever existed."

² Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 472.

³ Hamilton Papers, II., 326; cf. FLEMING, 189, n. 63. The instructions say, e.g.: "Do what you can out of hande, and without long tarrying, to beate down and overthrowe the castle, sack Holyrod house, and as many townes and villaiges about Edinborough as ye may conveniently, sack Lythe and burne and subverte it and all the rest, putting man, woman, and childe, to fyre and swoorde . . ." And they continue in the same barbarous strain.

whole days, 192 towns, parish churches and castles, and 243 villages were destroyed and reduced to ashes, and the whole countryside laid waste.¹ After the death of Henry VIII., Lord Hertford, who had now become Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, went on with the work which he had begun ; he inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Scots near Pinkie, Leith was reduced to ashes, and the abbey of Holyrood sacked.

The decline of the ancient faith can be traced to this time of pillage and disaster. Broadly speaking Scotland was still Catholic at the time of the birth of Mary Stuart ; the Lutheran preachers had met with but little favour, and in 1535 Parliament had passed severe laws against them.² The battle-cry of the Scots at Pinkie, "Death to the heretic English !" had proved that at that time the majority of the Scottish people still held firmly to the ancient faith, and also showed that they fully understood the true significance of the English invasion.³ It was only by slow degrees that the religious innovations gained ground during those years of turmoil, though the attempts made in the synods of 1549 and 1551 to remove the principal pretext for religious change by a reform of the clergy, and by improving the state of religious instruction among the people by means of a new catechism for the use of parish priests,⁴ did not meet with much success, even though the peace of Boulogne in 1550 put an end to the long war with the English.

During these wars the Scottish barons had played a disgraceful part. Won over by English gold, they voluntarily gave their services to the destroyers of their own native land "in order to introduce" as they said, "the Protestant religion into their fiefs, since the Bible was the foundation stone of all truth and honour."⁵ A list of 200 such "men of

¹ FORBES-LEITH, 21 *seq.*

² BELLESHEIM, I., 332.

³ FORBES-LEITH, 29 n., BELLESHEIM, I., 365.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, I., 370 *seqq.* For the catechism of Hamilton, *ibid.*, 380 ; a reprint by Mitchel, Edinburgh, 1882, and by Graves Law, with a preface by W. E. GLADSTONE, Oxford, 1884.

⁵ FORBES-LEITH, 27.

honour " who had sold themselves to England, fell, after the death of Henry VIII. into the hands of the Scottish regent, Arran.¹

At first the task of preaching the new religion in Scotland had been in the hands of quite unimportant persons ;² it was therefore an event of great importance that, after the accession to the throne of Queen Mary of England, many of the Protestant preachers whom she drove out took refuge in the neighbouring kingdom in the north. It was even more pregnant in its consequences when the man who had once formed the first Protestant community from among the murderers of Cardinal Beaton and their sympathisers, and who, after passing 19 months as a prisoner in the French galleys had preached with feverish zeal in England, and who was destined to become the real author of the Scottish religious schism, fled to Geneva through fear of Mary, there to drink in at their fountain head the ideas of Calvin. Until then Scottish Protestantism had followed almost exclusively the lines laid down by Luther.³ John Knox⁴ was the man who definitely transformed it into Calvinism.

As had been the case with Calvin, Knox also laid down, as the basis even of political organization, the terrible doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which one half of mankind is created for heaven, and the other half is *a priori*

¹ *Ibid.* The attitude of the populace towards the attempt to make Scotland English was very different. The English ambassador, Sadler, heard it said that there was not a boy in Scotland so young that he would not throw stones, that the women would pursue them with their distaffs, and that the whole people would rather die in a *single day* than become the slaves of England. Hamilton Papers, I., 477, in FLEMING, 183 *seq.*, FORBES-LEITH, 18.

² BELLESHEIM, I., 383.

³ BELLESHEIM, I., 326, 332, 334 *seq.*, 369. Wishart, however, whom Knox at first followed, was the disciple and friend of the Swiss reformers. Realenzykl. of Herzog, X³, 603.

⁴ Works, edited by LAING, 6 volumes, Edinburgh, 1846-1864. Biography of TH. MACCRIE, 1811, and frequently by J. H. BROWN, 1895, A. LANG, London, 1905. P. J. KROMSIGT, John Knox als Kerkhervormer, Utrecht, 1895.

destined for eternal damnation. In his eyes, his own followers are the elect, the saints of the Lord, and the Catholics infidels and idolators, while he deduced from the Holy Scriptures, as being a precept of Almighty God, that if necessary, all idolators may be exterminated by the sword. Moreover, the elect of the Lord have both the right and the duty of enforcing, even by the use of arms, what they deem to be the will of God ; in such a case it becomes lawful, even in opposition to a duly constituted authority, for the community, or for the individual acting in the name of the community, to have recourse to the sword or the dagger.¹ Such doctrines were very welcome to the Scottish barons, as affording them justification for the acts of violence which they had long indulged in, though they had never attempted to excuse them on the strength of texts from Scripture. Their teacher was naturally attracted to Calvinism by his own hard and unbending character, as well as by the gloom and irritability of his nature.

Knox was, no doubt, a man of no ordinary talent, but he cannot be described as having either greatness or originality. He was hasty and uncouth, but he was endowed with a great nimbleness of speech and a natural gift of eloquence ; his ideas, however, except for the grossness with which he clothed them, were merely those of Calvin. He had no appreciation whatever for anything like culture or of the glorious history of his people. His religious teaching showed him entirely untouched by the gentle spirit of Christ or the Gospel ; he was

¹ "When it is a case of carrying out this supreme will, then every other law, which may run counter to it in civil matters, and even the supreme civil authority, must give way ; the people that professes the law of God must, in virtue of its rights, or rather of its duties, in case of necessity take its execution into its own hands, and do so forcibly, and where it is not possible for a people of God to act in common for this purpose, then it becomes the right or rather the duty of the individual zealot to do so." Realenzykl. of Herzog X³, 603. For the corresponding teaching of Calvin, cf. *ibid.*, III³, and the *Institutio* of Calvin IV., 20, 31 *seq.*

the apostle of the sword and the flaming torch. But he was not the stuff of which martyrs are made ; at the approach of danger, he knew how to save his own skin, though once he was in safety his courage was unbounded, and with the help of a certain geniality he knew how to rouse the populace and drive them whither he would.¹

The opportunity of taking an active part in the affairs of his country came for Knox when, in 1554, Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Stuart, succeeded the Earl of Arrian as regent. Mary owed this appointment principally to the nobles in the pay of England ; and she undertook it with the tacit understanding that she should secretly promote the new doctrines.² Knox thereupon returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1555, and began to preach energetically in the territories of the Protestant nobles. His thunders against idolatry were not without effect ; wherever they could his followers at once put an end to Catholic worship, drove out the monks and priests, and burned the churches and ecclesiastical ornaments.³ In this he was as little interfered with by the queen-regent as by the bishops, none of whom showed themselves worthy of their high office. When in the end a summons was issued against him, for May 15th, 1556, he, it is true, appeared for the proceedings, but his judges did not. On the strength of this the bold reformer thought it safe to preach publicly in Edinburgh on the same day, and to invite the regent in an open letter herself to adopt the new teaching.⁴ His courage failed him, however, when threats of serious proceedings against him on the part of the Church were made, and he fled once more to Geneva.⁵ Knox was then burned in effigy in Edinburgh, but the impression of weakness given by this tardy condemnation of one who was already in safety, really only served to encourage the innovators. John Douglas, an

¹ For Knox's character see BELLESHEIM, II., 134 ; HOSACK, II., 163 *seq.*

² FORBES-LEITH, 31 ; BELLESHEIM, I., 385.

³ FORBES-LEITH, 32.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, I., 385 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 387.

apostate Carmelite, now preached openly in Edinburgh,¹ and in March, 1557, the leaders of the party of the nobles did not hesitate to send an invitation to Knox to return to his native land. Knox, it is true, only ventured as far as Dieppe, but even though he did not appear in person, a letter which he sent to his friends in Scotland had a great effect. On December 3rd, 1557, the leaders of the nobles who had embraced the new religion met and gave their party a definite organization by signing their names to a covenant. They now styled themselves the "party of the Lord," and the Catholics the party of Satan; the signatories, with the Earls of Argyll, Morton and Glencairn at their head, bound themselves, in accordance with the ancient Scottish custom, to remain united until death, and promised to defend the new doctrines, "the holy word of God in His congregation" and openly to profess themselves the enemies of "the party of Satan, its abominations, and its idolatry."²

Thus was the old Church formally apprised of the declaration of a war of destruction. The nobles of "the party of the Lord" drove the Catholic priests from their estates, and replaced them with preachers of the new doctrines.³ There was all the less reason at that moment to fear any strong measures being taken by the queen-regent, as she required the support of the Protestant nobles for the French marriage of her daughter. She even showed favour to the proposals put forward by the party to allow liberty for Protestant worship,⁴ which proposals were in their turn rejected, as far as their substance was concerned, by a last and belated council of reform held by the Catholic prelates in March and April, 1559.⁵

It was only about Easter, 1559, that the regent changed her attitude towards the matter by forbidding the preachers

¹ *Ibid.*, 387 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 389 seq. FORBES-LEITH, 34. CALDERWOOD, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thompson, Edinburgh, 1842, I., 326 seq.

³ BELLESHEIM, I., 390.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 393 seqq.

to show themselves in public, and by making the administration of the sacraments dependent upon the consent of the bishop.¹ In the meantime events followed quickly one upon another. The preachers refused to obey, and Mary summoned them to appear for trial at Stirling on May 10th; they did not come and were declared outlaws. Thereupon, by way of reprisal, they delivered day after day at Perth inflammatory speeches against the "idolatry" of the Catholics, and the duty of exterminating them. The resentment which they excited reached its climax when Knox, who had been again in Scotland since May 2nd, 1559, preached at Perth on May 11th against "idolatry." The mob smashed the images of the saints and all the ornaments in the parish church, and then went to the churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carthusians, and reduced them to ruins and ashes.² Knox and the nobles uttered no word of blame of these atrocities, which were immediately repeated at Cupar.³ The mob then marched by way of Crail and Anstruther, where also Knox's sermons had let loose the lust of iconoclasm, to St. Andrew's, the chief episcopal see in the country. After Knox had there inveighed during three days against "idolatry" the magnificent cathedral, the mother church of Scotland, with all its many monuments of prelates, nobles and famous men, was sacked and reduced to ruins; nor did the other churches of the city fare any better.⁴ To the west of Perth lay the Abbey of Scone, a sanctuary indeed in the eyes of every noble-minded Scot, since from time immemorial the kings of Scotland had been crowned there; yet even this holy place was given to the flames.⁵ Of all the churches of Stirling the citizens saved only that of the Franciscans. After the destruction of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, Knox marched with his followers on Edinburgh. The regent took to flight, and before long the capital was given over to

¹ *Ibid.*, 407.

² *Ibid.*, 408 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 409.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 411 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 412.

revolt and pillage ; not even the royal chapel was spared.¹ Similar scenes occurred in other places. One who took part in this work of destruction wrote : " This is our manner of proceeding : every kind of convent, and certain abbeys, which will not voluntarily accept the reform, are destroyed ; as for the parish churches, they are purged of their images, etc., and orders are given that Mass is no longer to be said there." ²

In the meantime the government was quite powerless to deal with this state of affairs ; after the first acts of destruction at Perth, Mary of Guise had threatened to take stern measures, but the only result was that the innovators entrenched themselves at Perth, and sent an insulting letter to the regent. Thereupon she prepared to act, but civil war was once again averted by means of a truce arranged by the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart. But on the pretext that the truce had not been observed by Mary, the two mediators very soon openly joined the party of the innovators.³

In the meantime, with the death of Henry II. of France in July, 1559, the two crowns of Scotland and France were united in the person of his son, Francis II., the husband of the Scottish queen. Francis II. at once sent to his wife's mother 2,000 French auxiliary troops ; 20,000 more were to follow under the command of the two brothers of the Scottish regent, the Marquis d'Elboeuf and the Duc d'Aumale.⁴ The insurgents were unable to withstand the well-trained French troops, so they sought for aid from Elizabeth of England.

As early as July, 1559, Mary of Guise had publicly accused the nobles of " the party of the Lord " of daily receiving communications from England, and of sending them thither.⁵ On August 3rd, 1559, John Knox had made to James Croft, the commandant of Berwick, the English frontier fortress, the traitorous proposal to hand over to the English several

¹ *Ibid.*, 413.

² W. Kyrkcaldy to Sir Henry Percy, July 1, 1559, in FORBES-LEITH, 37, n. 2.

³ BELLESHEIM, I., 409 *seq.*

⁴ HOSACK, I., 26, 32.

⁵ BELLESHEIM, I., 414.

Scottish border fortresses, in return for which the "party of the Lord" was to receive help in English gold.¹ A little later the Scottish intermediary, Belnaves, openly informed the Englishmen, Croft and Sadler, that the nobles intended to renounce their allegiance to Mary Stuart, and to place on the throne in her place the Duke of Chatelherault or his son the Earl of Arran; on their part, the nobles looked for financial aid from England.²

These requests for aid met with an encouraging reception from Cecil, but at first the English Privy Council made difficulties about any open co-operation with the rebels.⁴ Elizabeth contented herself with sending secret financial help, but when, in October, the Lords of the Congregation openly deposed the regent and besieged her in Leith, but found themselves forced to raise the siege, and in January, 1560, were pursued by the French troops as they fell back on Stirling, the English queen ventured upon a further step. Her admiral, Winter, as though by chance, and, as he stated, upon his own responsibility, was able, with his fleet, to render important services to the insurgents, for which Elizabeth duly expressed her regret in a letter to the regent.⁴ In the meantime the nobles had sent to the English court an able diplomatist in the person of Lethington, Laird of Maitland, who, in conjunction with Throckmorton, till then English ambassador in France, succeeded, on February 27th, in persuading Elizabeth to enter into the treaty of Berwick, by which she promised her help to the Lords of the Congregation.⁵

Thus it seemed as though the internal disputes in Scotland were on the point of developing into a great war involving three kingdoms, and one which might prove very dangerous to Elizabeth if 20,000 French troops really landed in Scotland. Fortune, however, favoured the English queen, for two fleets carrying French auxiliary troops were destroyed by storms

¹ FORBES-LEITH, 41.

² *Ibid.*, 41 *seq.*

³ HOSACK, I., 31 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵ OPITZ, I., 25 *seq.*

off the coasts of Zeeland and Denmark.¹ Throckmorton stirred up the French Huguenots to rebellion against their government, while the conspiracy of Amboise made it clear to the French politicians that it would not be safe to let themselves be involved in any undertaking on a large scale abroad.² Mary of Guise thus had only her own French troops, well-equipped and trained, it is true, but only numbering at the most 3,000 men.³ Mary had to suffer also for the preference which she showed for her French supporters and soldiers over the Scots, for the discontent caused by this led even some of the Catholic nobles to accept the treaty of Berwick and join the English cause.⁴

Under these circumstances Elizabeth had things in her own hand. The war was confined to skirmishes round Leith and the siege of that place,⁵ but although the English army won but few laurels at Leith, and Elizabeth was angry with Cecil as the author of a long and inglorious campaign,⁶ yet, after the death of the Scottish regent (June 10th, 1560),⁷ Francis II. and Mary Stuart found themselves obliged to enter into negotiations for peace. Cecil went in person to Edinburgh as the English representative, and he hoodwinked the French envoys, Montluc and Randan, to such an extent that they agreed to terms, with regard to which he himself boasted that by them he had gained more ground in Scotland than all the English kings had by their wars.⁸ By one of the articles of the treaty, which was signed at Edinburgh on July 6th, 1560,

¹ HOSACK, I., 33 ; FORBES-LEITH, 46.

² HOSACK, I., 37 *seq.*

³ FORBES-LEITH, 45, n. 3.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, I., 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 418 *seq.* ; HOSACK, I., 42 *seqq.*

⁶ HOSACK, I., 47.

⁷ For the date see FLEMING, 216, n. 33.

⁸ HOSACK (I., 51) understands Cecil's words in the following sense : " Religious sympathy at length promised to bring about that which had baffled the power and skill of the greatest monarchs. Cecil well knew that if Scotland remained Catholic, the prospects of a peaceful union were more than ever hopeless."

Cecil and the incautious French caused Mary Stuart to renounce "for all future time" the use of English arms, which could be taken as meaning the renunciation of her claim to succeed to the English throne. The foreign troops were to be withdrawn, and Scotland thus was left open to the attacks of Elizabeth. The reins of government were placed in the hands of the allies of the English queen, the nobles who had embraced the new religion. In the absence of the queen the country was to be governed by a council of twelve, of whom Mary Stuart had indeed the power to nominate seven, but only from among twenty-five candidates chosen by the estates. The nobles of the "party of the Lord" and their adherents were not to be called to judgment for the excesses committed during the last few years. A Parliament was to meet on August 1st, 1560, the enactments of which were to have the same binding force as if it had been summoned by the express command of the regent herself. At the same time the treaty contained clauses in favour of Mary Stuart and the old religion. A deputation was to ask for the approval of the king and queen before the opening of the Parliament, and by the terms of the treaty a commission appointed by the Parliament was to lay the state of religious affairs before the two sovereigns. Bishops and other ecclesiastics who had suffered losses in the recent troubles were to have the right to make a claim for indemnity.¹

In reality these apparent concessions to the sovereign and the prelates were of no practical value. Parliament assembled without the assent of the queen on August 1st, 1560, swept away the ancient Church, and established Calvinism as the state religion. On August 17th, a profession of faith, drafted by Knox and others, was solemnly accepted. On August 23rd there followed the prohibition of all Catholic worship; whoever celebrated or heard Mass was to be punished for the first offence by being flogged and deprived of his property, for the second offence by banishment, and for the third by death.

¹ BELLESHEIM, I., 420 *seq.*

August 24th saw the abrogation of the Papal authority in Scotland.¹

All these enactments lacked the force of law because Parliament had assembled without the royal assent.² The astonishing majority upon which the reformers could count in the assembly had been secured by the admission, for the occasion, of 100 members of the lesser nobility, who, by the laws long in force in Scotland, had no right to sit in Parliament.³ Besides this, the assembly was not free. During the debates, the preachers openly urged the nobles from the pulpit to use force against the recalcitrant clergy.⁴ The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was threatened with death by his own brother, the Duke of Chatelherault, when he ventured to oppose the acceptance of the reformed profession of faith.⁵ English influence dominated the assembly to such an extent that the leaders sought advice from London on all the more important matters.⁶

The violence which characterized the whole conduct of this Parliament to some extent explains why we hear so little of any opposition to its revolutionary enactments. It would appear that the bishops looked upon it as certain⁷ that a new and legal assembly would soon be convened, and that they therefore disdained to pay any attention to

¹ *Ibid.*, 424 *seqq.* The "Confessio Scotiana" in MÜLLER, *Bekenntnisse*, 249 *seq.* The internal organization of the new church was settled by the *Book of discipline*, on the model of Geneva.

² The Convention of States which met in August, 1560, was possessed of no lawful authority." HOSACK, I., 33; *cf.* 55.

³ FORBES-LEITH, 48; PHILIPPSON, I., 191; BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXII. (1893), 566.

⁴ "All their new precheris perswadis opinly the Nobilitie, in the pulpit, to putt violent handis, and slay all Kirkmen that will not concurr and tak thir opinion." The Archbishop of St. Andrew's to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in FORBES-LEITH, 49.

⁵ BEKKER, Maria, 6.

⁶ Tytler in FORBES-LEITH, 49, n. 4.

⁷ BELLESHEIM, I., 429.

this packed Parliament, from which in any case they could expect nothing but indignity. It was perhaps for this reason that they did not appear even when, in accordance with the treaty of Edinburgh, they were invited to claim compensation for their lost ecclesiastical property.¹ Knox then tried to obtain possession of the benefices of the old Church for his own followers, but the nobles in Parliament wanted to keep these for themselves, and did not even condescend to reply to his request.²

The preachers met with better success, however, in another direction. In the north and west of Scotland convents and churches had been preserved in considerable numbers. The ecclesiastical assembly of May, 1561, therefore put before the nobles of the Privy Council a request for the destruction of all these remains of "idolatry" and several of the latter were actually charged to carry out this task, namely, Lord James Stuart for the north, and the Earls of Arran, Argyll and Glencairn for the west; there was not a church left that was not mutilated or destroyed; the timbers, the plate and the bells were sold, and the books and manuscripts burned. Not even the monuments of the Scottish kings were spared, so that to-day we do not know of a single royal tomb on Scottish soil.³

The complete breach with the past in Scotland was made without any attempt being made in Rome to interfere. On October 2nd, 1555, the thirteen-year-old queen had begged the Pope from France to allow her to levy a tax on the clergy for the needs of the kingdom. At the same time reports in cypher reached Rome as to the need for reform among

¹ FORBES-LEITH, 49.

² *Ibid.*, 51.

³ BEKKER, Maria, 7; BELLESHEIM, II., 8 *seq.*; FORBES-LEITH, 52 *seq.* "In the whole of history," says HOSACK (I., 60 *seq.*), "this outburst of fanatical fury finds no equal. No army in any enemy country was ever guilty of such inhuman destruction. No people before or since has ever destroyed with greater deliberation and all the formalities of law the monuments of art and industry, or the heritage of its fathers."

the Scottish clergy, on the strength of which Cardinal Sermoneta in the following year demanded the appointment of a visitor for the northern kingdom. When, after the peace of Cave, Paul IV. sent Cardinal Trivulzio to France, he also empowered him, on October 27th, 1557, to appoint such a visitor, but Trivulzio died at the end of June, 1559, without having taken any steps in the matter.

Soon afterwards Henry II. of France made fresh remonstrances to the Pope,¹ describing ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland in the darkest colours, and declaring that in spite of her exhaustion France intended to send a large army there to punish the destroyers of the churches; he declared that it was absolutely essential that a Papal legate should be sent there, especially in view of the approaching Parliament of August 1st, 1560. He recommended as a fit person for this office, the Bishop of Amiens, Nicholas Pellevé. In spite of the reproachful tone which Henry II. used in this letter to the Pope, it would appear from the instructions which he sent about the same time to his envoys with the Scottish rebels, that the king's zeal for religion was not very deep-seated.²

Paul IV. at first received the royal letter courteously, and promised to take immediate steps. In the meantime, however, he began to entertain suspicions as to the orthodoxy of the proposed legate. He accordingly made answer to the ambassador that Scotland was no concern of Henry II.'s, while after the king's death he refused to send a legate on the ground that Francis II. and Mary Stuart had not asked for one.³ Nevertheless, the royal couple,⁴ as well as Mary of Guise,⁵ had strongly pointed out to the Pope the necessity for reform in Scotland about the same time as Henry II.

¹ Letter of June 29, 1559, in POLLEN, 13-17.

² POLLEN, xxxii.

³ The French ambassador in Rome to the Cardinal of Lorraine August 17, 1559, in RIBIER, II., 811 *seqq.*; POLLEN, 20 *seqq.*

⁴ RIBIER, II., 808.

⁵ P. HUME BROWN, John Knox, II., London, 1895, App. B, p. 300 *seqq.* Cf. POLLEN, xxviii.

His successor, Pius IV., did his best to repair the shortcomings of Paul IV. by giving full powers to Pellevé,¹ who had been in Scotland as French ambassador since September. The learned theologians who accompanied him defended the old religion in sermons and disputations with considerable success. Mary of Guise proclaimed liberty of conscience for all, which of course included the Catholics, brought back to Edinburgh the monks who had been driven out, restored the broken altars, so that the Catholic worship was once again carried on with greater fervour than before.² In other respects Pius IV. maintained a cautious attitude, and gave his nuncio in France, Sebastiano Gualterio, express instructions not to do anything which would involve the Pope in expenditure in Scotland.³

Francis II. of France died on December 5th, 1560. He had never recognized the peace of Edinburgh, but his death put an end to any further preparations against the Scottish insurgents.⁴ In the meantime Mary Stuart was making ready to return peacefully to her own country. In February, 1561, she sent a message to this effect to Scotland, promised immunity for the past, and gave full powers for the assembly of a Parliament.⁵

Hitherto the Scottish nobles had hardly given a thought to their queen. At the conclusion of the Parliament of 1560 they had sent to her a simple gentleman to acquaint her with the decisions arrived at, while the more important members of their party went at the same time to Elizabeth to offer her the hand of the Earl of Arran in marriage, and with it the crown of Scotland, for it was their intention to make Arran king, and by means of his marriage with Elizabeth to unite England and Scotland as one great Protestant kingdom. Elizabeth, however, made difficulties about accepting the crown from the hands of traitors, while the

¹ Brief of Jan. 25, 1560, in POLLEN, 31-35.

² POLLEN, xliv.

³ Instructions of May 15, 1560, in POLLEN, 45 *seq.*

⁴ BEKKER, Elisabeth und Leicester, 15 *seq.*

⁵ BELLESHEIM, II., II.

thought of ruling over such unruly subjects may well have had small attractions for her; moreover, she would have found herself called upon to buy the support of the Scottish leaders with considerable sums of money, and Elizabeth was alarmed at the prospect of heavy expenditure.¹ On December 11th, 1560, before she had yet had news of the death of Francis II., she refused Arran's hand. Irritated by her conduct, the nobles turned their backs on Elizabeth, and began to rally to Mary Stuart, from whom it was difficult to suppose there could come any threat to the supremacy of the new doctrines. Arran sent to France to ask for her favour and her hand, and Lethington himself offered Mary his support. This she accepted, under certain conditions. whereupon Lethington, together with Lord James Stuart, went so far as to maintain the hereditary right of Mary to the English throne!²

At this juncture embassies set out for France, in the name of the Catholics, as well as in that of the reformers, to invite the queen to return to her kingdom. The first to arrive was the envoy of the Catholics, Leslie, the future Bishop of Ross. He advised her to land at Aberdeen, in the north of Scotland, where everything was still Catholic; there she would be met by the Catholic nobles with 20,000 men, with whose help she would be able to crush the insurgents, and in any case she should also take French troops with her to Scotland.³ This suggestion, however, found no favour in Mary's eyes, while Leslie's advice that she should beware of her half-brother, James, who had designs upon the Scottish crown, made no impression upon her. When, on the following day, James presented himself as the envoy of the Protestant estates, she refused, indeed, to confirm the peace of Edinburgh, but in other respects received her half-brother in the most cordial way, and with simple confidence told him of all her ideas and plans, and sought his advice; it never occurred to her that her brother was in close relations with Elizabeth. On his return

¹ BEKKER, *loc. cit.*, 22 seq., 25 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ So Leslie himself stated. Cf. FORBES-LEITH, 54 seq.

journey James had hardly reached Paris before he went in secret to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, and gave him a full account of all that his ingenuous sister had told him. Throckmorton lost no time in recommending this faithful friend of England to Elizabeth for a large reward in money.¹

At that time Mary found herself treated by Elizabeth in a very harsh and hostile spirit. Refused the passport which she had asked for, for her journey through England, and with a grave risk of being taken prisoner by English ships on her voyage, the Scottish queen set out from Calais on August 14th, 1561, and landed safely at Leith on the 19th, under cover of a dense fog.² "Adieu mes beaux jours" are the words put into her mouth in the touching poem of her farewell to France, her second home. She could not yet guess the terrible way in which the future was to see this prediction fulfilled.

Mary was leaving behind her a happy and joyous youth.³ She was possessed of a beauty that had won admiration on all sides, and had a great charm of manner in society, while she was at the same time a daring horsewoman and follower of the chase. She was also highly educated and a woman of great intellectual gifts, with a taste for poetry and music, while in the years that were to come she displayed courage and resoluteness in danger, together with a warlike disposition. A

¹ HOSACK, I., 62.

² For the negotiations about the passport *cf.* FLEMING, 240, n. 49, 247, n. 66. Bishop Leslie expressly stated that Elizabeth wished to seize Mary (*ibid.*, 43); this report was wide-spread (*ibid.*, 250 *seq.*; *cf.* 242 *seq.* and KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 589, 607). It is certain that the order was given to detain her in the southern English ports, where she wished to land. FLEMING 251 *seq.*; *cf.* *Revue des quest. hist.*, LIII. (1893), 509 *seqq.* (according to the Rutland Papers in the Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission, II.).

³ F. J. STEVENSON, *Mary Stuart*, a narrative of the first eighteen years of her life. London, 1886; BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCIX., (1187), 282 *seqq.*, A. DE RUBLE, *La première jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1891; J. F. STODDART, *The girlhood of Mary, Queen of Scots*, London, 1908.

contemporary writes that it was her delight to listen to tales of valour and chivalry ; that she admired these qualities even in her enemies, and willingly faced privations and risks if she thought they would lead her to victory.¹ All the reports relating to the years she had spent in France are full of her praises, and in her later life no one ever left her without carrying away the impression of a woman of great brilliancy.² Thanks to the careful education which she had received at the hands of her pious grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon,³ Mary's youth was untainted by the corruption of the French court, which never disclosed its secrets to the promised bride of its future king. She tenderly loved her husband, Francis II., who was so unlike herself, and her brief married life was happy. As far as her religion was concerned, she frankly told the English ambassador, Throckmorton, that she thought the Catholic religion was the most pleasing to God and that she neither knew nor wished to know any other.⁴

This girl of nineteen years of age now assumed the reins of government in a country which was at the mercy of the strongest man among nobles who thought nothing of treachery and assassination, and amid a people which suffered itself to be roused to any act of violence by the tongues of demagogues, a girl, moreover, who knew nothing of the state of affairs in Scotland, who lacked the support of a powerful army, who had nobody to confide in, and not an adviser whom she could trust. In her very capital Knox thundered against her from the pulpit, while to the south Elizabeth was plotting her ruin, and what was worst of all, her political guides were her own half-brother, Lord James Stuart, and William Maitland, Earl of Lethington,

¹ Knollys to Cecil, June 11, 1568, in FLEMING, 175 *seq.* POLLEN in the Month, XCI. (1898), 349, gives the following opinion : " She was above all things a warlike queen, and her faults and sins were those of the Scottish camp, not of the Italian court."

² Not even her determined enemy, the cold Cecil, was an exception. HOSACK, II., 21.

³ Concerning her, *cf.* DE PAMODAN, *La mère des Guises*, Paris, 1889.

⁴ FORBES-LEITH, 56 ; HOSACK, I., 64.

a man of the highest gifts, but quite without principle, who gave his services to every party in turn, and betrayed them all.¹ It would have been indeed a miracle if the inexperienced and gay young queen had made no blunders and incurred no blame.

The young queen was to experience in the first days of her residence in Scotland, the difficulties that were awaiting her. At her landing, indeed, she met with a cordial reception from the people, and was greeted with loud cries of joy, but it was not difficult to guess the significance of the fact that in the evening the populace gathered outside the castle walls, and for three nights sang Calvinist psalms to her.² The Privy Council had allowed the queen to have daily Mass, but when, on the first Sunday after her arrival, they were preparing to celebrate it, Lord Lindsay presented himself at the chapel, at the head of a band of his followers, and threatened the "idolatrous" priest with death. These "men of God" were forced, however, "with anguish of heart" as Knox expressed it, to retire when Lord James Stuart took up his position at the door of the chapel in full armour, and prevented their entry. Similar scenes occurred many times during the first months.³ Knox preached that a single Mass was a worse disaster than the landing of 10,000 foreign troops,⁴ and every day he prayed that God would touch the hard heart of the queen, and strengthen the minds and the hand of His elect in their opposition to the rage of all tyrants.⁵ The question was

¹ A proof of her confidence in him is given in a letter from Mary of the beginning of January, 1562, in POLLEN, 439: "pour le moings quelque difficulté qu'il i est pour la religion, ils se conforment au rest à ce que je veuls, et sur tout mon frère le prieur et Ledinton se montrent affectionnés . . ."

² Brantôme in FORBES-LEITH, 59.

³ FORBES-Leith, 60.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, II., 14 *seq.*

⁵ "His prayer is dayly for her: That God will turn her obstinate heart . . . or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hand of His chosen elect stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants." Randolph, Oct. 24, 1561, in FLEMING, 258 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 317, n. 20.

openly raised whether it was lawful to obey so idolatrous a queen in civil matters.¹ Nothing shows better the state of affairs than the fact that Mary was powerless to deal with such assertions.

In spite of all this, however, Mary had by no means yet reason to despair. In a progress which she made in September, 1561, it was clear that the greater part of the people was sincerely loyal to the queen.² It was not unreasonable to hope that the wild tirades of Knox would gradually lose their influence. If only from the political standpoint Mary could not have acted more wisely in the face of such attacks than to continue to hunt and dance, and leave the disentanglement of the problem to the hand of time ; little by little, good sense and reason, added to the innate loyalty of the people to the crown, were bound to restore calm. The charm which Mary's beauty exercised over the people, and even more her kindly behaviour, the mirror of a kind heart, helped to soothe and pacify her excited subjects. Many who approached her as her enemy, left her as a friend.³ If she had but had the calm sagacity of her mother, Mary might perhaps have succeeded in steering the ship safely through the angry waves. But the impulsiveness of her temperament caused her too often to be led away by the impressions of the moment, and thus she offered to her enemies a welcome opportunity to ruin her.⁴

While she was still in France the queen had said that she did not intend to use any violence as far as religion was concerned,⁵ and she adhered to this intention. After her arrival in Scotland, on August 25th, 1561, she proclaimed that the religious question would be submitted to the Parliament, and that in the meantime everything must remain *in statu quo*.⁶

¹ Randolph to Cecil, Nov. 11, 1561, in HOSACK, I., 79.

² OPITZ, I., 54.

³ HOSACK, I., 71. BELLESHEIM, II., 14.

⁴ HOSACK, I., 71.

⁵ "I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish they were all as I am." Mary to Throckmorton, in FORBES-LEITH, 56 ; HOSACK, I., 64.

⁶ BELLESHEIM, II., 14.

As a matter of fact the innovators not only kept in their hands the property they had seized, but continued to add to it. In the Privy Council which Mary called together on September 6th, 1561, there were only two Catholics;¹ she agreed that a stipend should be allotted to the Protestant preachers from the Catholic ecclesiastical revenues,² whereby the status of the body of the new religionists was recognized as legal. Thus Knox was able to continue his invectives undisturbed. The queen sought to influence him by summoning him to her presence several times, and, though of course without effect, by remonstrating with him for his revolutionary activities.³ For her own part Mary remained staunch and unshaken in the Catholic faith, but in her desire that all might be led to see eye to eye with her, she took no active measures on behalf of her own co-religionists. Her own personal influence brought it about that at any rate there was no longer any attempt to put the capital penalty into force against the Catholics; while she had only with great difficulty been able during the first two years of her residence in Scotland to secure the release from prison of the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, who had celebrated Mass at Easter, during the last two years of her rule 9,000 and 12,000 persons respectively were able to receive their Easter communion in the royal chapel without creating any disturbances.⁴ A description of the condition of the Scottish Catholics is given in the report of the Jesuit Nicholas Floris of Gouda in Holland, who was sent by Pius IV. as nuncio to Mary Stuart in 1562.

Immediately after the accession of Pius IV. to the throne, Francis II. and Mary had caused homage to be paid to him,

¹ *Ibid.*, 15. In a letter of June 10, 1561, Murray had advised Mary not to confer on the bishops the great offices of state, because they were not worthy of them, and would seek for further concessions. PHILIPPSON, III., 437. BELLESHEIM in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXII. (1893), 568.

² BELLESHEIM, II., 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴ Hay to Francis Borgia, Paris, May, 1566, in POLLEN, 496. Guzman de Silva to Philip II., London, July 26, 1567, *ibid.*, 521.

for which he expressed his thanks in the consistory of May 4th, 1560.¹ On August 22nd, 1560, the Golden Rose was sent to the young queen ;² the nuncio Lorenzo Lenzi, Bishop of Fermo, who was sent to the French court after the premature death of Francis II., took to Mary a letter of condolence from the Pope ;³ he, like the nuncio Gualterio at an earlier date, and Cardinal Este later on,⁴ had instructions to enter into negotiations with her. While she was still in France, Mary received an invitation from the Pope to urge her representatives and the Scottish bishops to attend the Council of Trent.⁵

Affairs only took a more serious turn after Mary had returned to her own kingdom. When, in September, 1561, it was rumoured that the King of Denmark was aspiring to Mary's hand, Commendone, at that time nuncio in Germany called the attention of the Pope to Mary, whose marriage to a Protestant would mean an increase in the strength of the reforming party, whereas the destinies of Scotland, Ireland and England itself might be guided in quite another direction were she to give her hand to a Catholic prince.⁶ As a matter

¹ RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 24. POLLEN mentions other letters of courtesy, p. 48 *seq.*

² STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1560-61, n. 446. The date of the brief " March 23, 1561 " in RAYNALDUS, 1561, n. 76, cannot be correct ; *cf.* POLLEN, 49.

³ RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 83. *Cf.* SUSTA, I., lxvii.

⁴ Commendatory brief for Gualterio, of March 29, 1560, mentioned in POLLEN, 48 ; for Este, of July 1, 1561, printed *ibid.*, 56.

⁵ Briefs of March 6, 1561, in POLLEN, 53. The invitations to the Scottish bishops were sent on the same date ; *ibid.*, 55.

⁶ Commendone to Charles Borromeo, September 5, 1561, in POLLEN, 63. A memorial, probably of May, 1566, intended for Philip II., expresses similar views. In the English schism, says the unknown author, is to be found the principal cause of the apostacy of Scotland, of the contagion in France, and of the infection in the Low Countries, where they are near to open apostacy. It is therefore of the utmost importance to help

of fact a great deal more depended upon the action of the young princess than Commendone guessed. She was the legitimate heir to the English crown ; it was Mary Stuart, and not Elizabeth, who was to become the ancestress of the English royal house. If she had maintained her own throne and her hereditary rights, if she had founded a line of Catholic sovereigns, the religious future of the whole English kingdom might have developed on quite different lines ; at anyrate, the toleration of the Catholic Church in England and its colonies, and consequently the principle of religious toleration in general would certainly have been accepted as a fundamental political principle more than two centuries earlier than was actually the case.¹

From that time onwards Commendone kept Mary in mind,² and it was certainly in consequence of his representations that Pius IV. determined to send a nuncio to her in December, 1561.³ It was obviously impossible to entrust this mission to a nuncio of high rank, and therefore the Jesuit, Nicholas Floris, of Gouda in Holland, commonly called Goudano, was chosen for this difficult task. Goudano's departure, however, was delayed until June, 1562, probably because Commendone was anxious to give him as a companion Everard Mercurian, provincial of the Jesuits, and a man of great experience. A brief of June 3rd, 1562, named Mercurian as nuncio in the

Mary : if she were to succeed to the English crown the return of England to the Church would more than half quiet France and would save the Low Countries. Apart from this, if Scotland remains true to the Church, England will be obliged to allow liberty of conscience to the Catholics. POLLEN, 241-247.

¹ Cf. POLLEN in *The Month*, 1900, II., 168.

² Cf. his reports to Rome from September 5 to November 30, 1561, in POLLEN, 63-8.

³ For the mission of Goudano see his report to Lainez from Mayence, September 30, 1562, and his letter to Lainez of October 2, as well as one without date, in SCHNEEMANN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XIX. (1880), 83-108, together with other documents recently edited by POLLEN, 113-61, and *The Month*, XCVI, (1900), 167-76.

place of Goudano,¹ but it arrived too late. Goudano had set sail for Scotland on June 10th, accompanied by a French Jesuit, and the Scottish priest, Edmund Hay; they reached Leith on June 18th.² The object of their mission was to encourage the queen, and to invite her to send the Scottish bishops to the Council.³

The arrival of a Papal envoy, the news of which, owing to an act of imprudence, was soon widely spread, caused the greatest excitement in Edinburgh. In almost all his sermons Knox inveighed against the diabolical emissary of Baal and Beelzebub;⁴ Goudano could not show himself in public, and therefore Hay took him for safety's sake beyond the Firth of Tay, to his father's house near Errol, in Perthshire.

A whole month passed before Goudano was able to present himself before the queen, and even then it was necessary carefully to choose the moment when he could make his way into the city and the royal palace.⁵ Knox was accustomed to preach on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and all the courtiers who professed the new faith attended these sermons.⁶ Accordingly, at the hour of the sermon on Friday, July 24th, when all the reformers had left the palace, Goudano was able to obtain an interview with the queen.⁷ He first of all set forth in Latin the objects of his mission, and when the queen

¹ RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 183. On the strength of this brief PHILIPPSON (*Règne de Marie Stuart*, II., 40) makes Mercurian go as nuncio to Scotland.

² William Crichton, *Memoir*, in POLLEN, 144.

³ Cf. the brief to Mary of December 3, 1561, which Goudano was to take, in POLLEN, 73 *seq.*

⁴ POLLEN, 115.

⁵ Lord James declared that the nuncio might become the cause of the disturbance of the whole country, and a source of personal danger to the queen, and that, with all his power, he could not prevent it. Letter of the English agent at Berwick, Randolph, June 26, 1562, in POLLEN 140.

⁶ POLLEN, p. liv.

⁷ Randolph nevertheless had news of it at Berwick. Cf. his letter of August 1, 1562, in POLLEN, 142.

explained that she could understand Latin better than she could speak it, the nuncio's companions were introduced, and with the help of Hay the interview was carried on in the Scottish tongue. Mary replied to the Pope's letter that he should look rather to her good will than to what she had been able to do for the cause of the Church ; in order to save what was left of the Catholic faith in the country, she had been obliged to allow many things to be done which she certainly did not approve of. With regard to the sending of representatives to Trent, she would consult with her bishops, but she could not hold out any great hopes of success. As far as she herself was concerned she would rather die at once than lose her faith.¹

Since the time at their disposal was limited, Goudano accepted this reply to the letter, and passed on to the discussion of other matters. Above all he asked how he could best deliver to the bishops the Papal letters addressed to them. At first Mary made answer that this certainly could not be done by the nuncio himself, but she afterwards added that perhaps the briefs could be entrusted to Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, who was president of the Parliament. When Goudano asked for a safe conduct, Mary refused it, saying that as far as the authorities were concerned, no action would be taken against him, but that as for other attacks which might be made upon him, she had no power to afford him any protection. Lastly the Pope's representative recommended, as the best way of disillusioning those who had gone astray, that a college should be established, where learned and pious men could give instruction to the people, and especially the young. To this Mary replied that for the moment it was quite out of the question to think of anything of the kind.² In the meanwhile the time had so slipped by, that the nuncio was obliged hurriedly to take his departure with his companions, though Mary again sent her secretary to him twice on the same day to obtain further information as to the wishes of the Pope, and

¹ Goudano, *ibid.*, 117 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 118 *seq.*

to offer her assistance in seeing that the briefs which he had brought were delivered to the bishops. Goudano agreed to this on the condition that the queen informed the Pope of this in her letter of reply to his.¹

In this matter Mary had already asked the Bishop of Ross to deal with the nuncio, but the bishop's courage failed him; if the nuncio, he thought, were to visit him, his house would most certainly be burnt down within 24 hours.² To the proposal which he made in writing, that Sinclair should at least reply to the Pope by letter, Goudano received no direct reply, but he was informed by Sinclair, through a third party, that such a letter would be sure to fall into the hands of the reformers, and that therefore he did not dare to write it.³ The Bishop of Dunblane, William Chisholm, was also in Edinburgh at that time, and he had scarcely got back to his house before the nuncio was daring enough to visit him, accompanied by a relation of the bishop, and dressed as a servant. Even so, however, he was refused admission.⁴ After such experiences Goudano had recourse to the other bishops by letter alone. He received replies from the Archbishop of St Andrew's and Robert Creighton, the Bishop of Dunkeld; the latter also sent the nuncio a letter for the Pope, and even received him in a house of his which was situated on a remote island; Goudano, however, had to disguise himself as a money-lender, and to talk about nothing but financial matters during the meal.⁵ Later on, after he had left Scotland, Goudano also received an answer to his letter from the Bishop of Aberdeen, William Gordon.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 119 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 120.

³ *Ibid.*, 120 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 122. When Goudano handed him the Papal brief in his room, "il povero vescovo caschò in tanta abbondanza de lachrine per la consideratione del misero stato della religione nel regno di Scozia, et parimente il P. Goudano, che per un spatio di tempo non potevano dir una parola l' un all' altro." Crichton, *Memoir*, in POLLEN, 146.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

The nuncio learned that there were still many Catholics among the nobility, but that from fear of the heretics they kept far from the court and took no part in affairs of state. He sent Papal briefs to three of these.¹

The nuncio describes the state of the kingdom in the most gloomy colours. The convents and churches, he laments, are destroyed, and Catholic worship in public is entirely suppressed, with the single exception of the royal chapel. Since baptism is only administered according to the Calvinist rite, and only on Sundays, many infants die without it.² The preachers of the new religion are drawn partly from apostate monks, and partly from artisans who are completely uneducated.³ On one occasion during his stay, three priests abjured the ancient faith in a single day, not far from his lodging. During the same period, one of the most highly esteemed ministers, a monk and a doctor of theology, was openly married, notwithstanding his 70 years.⁴ Anybody who has a lawsuit is first asked if he is a Catholic ; if he admits it, his suit is either disregarded or postponed.⁵ The great men of the kingdom acknowledge the queen outwardly, but do not allow her to act as such. They put obstacles in her way on every occasion, and lead her into making many mistakes ; especially if she tries to do anything on behalf of the Catholics, do they hold up before her eyes the bogey of an English invasion. The young princess has no one to defend her or advise her ; even her confessor, René Benoist, whom she had brought with her from France, has deserted her. The nobles do not allow any one to have free access to her.⁶ That the bishops, who are for the most part still good Catholics, considering the state of affairs, have no power to do anything

¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

² According to the " Book of discipline " it was a " gross error " that baptism was considered necessary for the salvation of infants. POLLEN, 123, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 124 *seq.*

even if they wish, was shown when, last Easter, the Bishop of Dunkeld tried to administer the sacraments according to the Catholic rite, and to have his people taught by a Catholic priest ; he was accused of breaking the laws, and by the command of the queen herself was forced to abandon the idea. The bishops, therefore, do nothing ; the only exception is the co-adjutor of the Bishop of Dunblane, who confirms many in the faith by his sermons and private instructions.¹ Apart from him there are very few Catholic preachers here, and even these either do not dare to treat of controversial matters, or are incapable of doing so.² Of the nobles and the upper classes a few still hear Mass in private ; there are still many Catholics among the common people, but they suffer under the persecution of the new religionists, and rest their hopes principally upon the loyalty of the queen to the faith of their fathers³

Even Goudano, however, was of opinion that all hope for the Catholics of Scotland was not yet lost. The whole country might be won back to the Church if the queen were to marry a powerful Catholic prince, who would be able to keep the enemies of the faith in check by his authority ; it would then be necessary to provide the queen with Catholic advisers, and to consider the appointment of capable bishops and prelates. Philip II. of Spain could be called upon to keep the designs of England upon Scotland in check⁴

His mission in Scotland over, Goudano, disguised as a sailor, set out in a boat from a lonely spot on the coast, and was conveyed to a Flemish ship, for a strict watch was being kept in all the ports of the kingdom for the nuncio and his correspondence.⁵ Hay followed him later with a band of young Catholics, who entered the Society of Jesus, and afterwards laboured as priests in their own country.⁶ With them also

¹ *Ibid.*, 125 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 126.

³ *Ibid.*, 126 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 127 seq.

⁵ Goudano, *ibid.*, 128 seq.

⁶ Crichton, *Memoir, ibid.*, 146.

went Ninian Winzet, who had hitherto been the most able defender of the ancient Church in Scotland.¹ This distinguished humanist had forfeited his position as professor of Latin at Linlithgow. He afterwards took up the pen in defence of the Church, first in open letters, and later in a larger work in which he challenged the new prophet, Knox, to demonstrate his right to reform the Church of Christ by proving his divine mission. The reply to this was the confiscation of the press which had issued his "trumpet call against the usurped authority of Knox." Winzet himself was forced to fly, and he died in 1592 as abbot of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon. The Abbot of Crossraguel, Quentin Kennedy (died 1564), had defended Catholic doctrine by his writings even before Winzet ;² religious conferences between the Catholics and the reformers had been held on several occasions, but without any noteworthy results.³ Winzet speaks with brutal candour of the abuses of the old Church, and especially the scandalous lives of the Scottish clergy,⁴ but in his opinion, as in that of Goudano, "the true root" of the evil was to be found in the arrogance and rapacity of the nobles, who wished to provide for their sons from the benefices of the Church, and thus placed the highest ecclesiastical offices in the hands of men who were quite unworthy to hold them.⁵

As the result of Goudano's report, the queen was kept almost as a prisoner by her entourage ; she was unable to receive any news from the outside world without the permission

¹ Goudano to Lainez, December 1562, in POLLEN, 152. Editions of the works of Winzet by John Blackgracie, Edinburgh, 1835 (Maitland Club), by James King Hewison, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1888 (Scottish Text Society). For Winzet *cf.* BELLESHEIM, II., 20-35, and Hist.-polit. Blätter, CIII. (1889), 27-39 ; CVII. (1891), 704-12.

² BELLESHEIM, I., 402 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, II., 7 *seq.*, 21, 35 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 24. *Cf.* Hist.-polit. Blätter, CVII. (1891), 711 ; Goudano in POLLEN, 127. Kennedy also expressed himself in the same sense, BELLESHEIM, I., 405.

of her ministers, except by stealth. The real ruler of Scotland was her half-brother, Lord James Stuart. The heretics, wrote Edmund Hay, the companion of Goudano,¹ with the exception of the Earl of Hamilton, are bound to him by their own interests, and he keeps the Catholics at bay by fear and by threats of appeal to the royal authority, so that no one dares oppose his will. He is always talking of the interests of the queen, but nobody in Scotland, who still retains a spark of intelligence, or who is not blinded by prejudice, can have the slightest doubts as to his real intentions. Leslie says plainly that James was aiming at the crown,² and that in order to attain this end he always strove to keep the management of the affairs of state in his own hands, to fill all offices with his own supporters, to deprive the Catholic clergy as far as possible of all their property, and lastly, to undermine the power of his enemies among the nobles.

The hostility of Lord James was especially directed against the Earl of Huntly,³ the most powerful of the Catholic nobles, whose possessions in the north of Scotland formed almost a small kingdom. Huntly's past had not been blameless,⁴ but he could at anyrate be considered the most important representative of the Catholic party, and he was a loyal adherent of the queen. About the time that the queen was making

¹ To Lainez, January 2, 1563, in FORBES-LEITH, 80.

² "Not content with the administration of the kingdom, aspired to the crown itself," in FORBES-LEITH, 81. The nuncio Laureo also wrote to Rome, March 12, 1567 (POLLEN, 362): "Muray [James] . . . ha havuto sempre la mira d'occupare il regno, persuaso della setta contraria che gli tocchi di ragione, et massime che pretende che la madre sia stata segretamente sposata dal Re suo padre." The memorial addressed in 1568 in the name of Mary to Cosimo I. of Tuscany mentions the fact of Murray's aspirations to the crown as a well known fact. LABANOFF, VII., 315.

³ Cf. Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 84-92; BELLESHEIM, II., 43-5; HOSACK, I., 85 *seqq.* POLLEN, p. lviii-lxi.

⁴ FLEMING, 82, 311.

a progress through the northern provinces, it happened that John Gordon, Huntly's second son, in a street quarrel with Lord Ogilvie in Edinburgh, wounded his opponent, was thrown into prison, and escaped a few days later. The hot-blooded young man was extremely irritated by a public summons to repair to Aberdeen, and by the order to return to prison, and thus place himself in the power of his enemies. Twice he attempted to attack the author of these orders, Lord James, even though he was in the queen's presence. A royal order to the Gordons then followed, that they were to surrender their castles of Inverness and Findlater, but this was resisted by the garrisons, who said that they must first have the consent of their own master.

Thereupon the queen summoned the nobles of the surrounding district to her aid, and called Huntly to account. The Earl would not risk placing himself in the hands of his enemies, but sent his secretary to hand over the keys of the castles, excusing himself for not being able to come in person, on account of Lord James, though he declared that he was ready to be imprisoned in Edinburgh, or wherever the queen might appoint, on condition that he should not be condemned to death without the consent of the whole of the Scottish nobility. Huntly's messenger was seized by Lord James, and by threats of torture forced to give evidence against the Earl. Three times more did Huntly try to send the same message to the queen, but each time his attempt was frustrated by Lord James. In the meantime armed forces had been sent to take Huntly prisoner in his castle of Strathbogie. As he could not feel safe anywhere, in desperation he summoned 1200 men to his defence. These came to blows with Lord James near Corrichie ; Huntly was defeated, captured, and fell dead from his horse. His son, John Gordon, was beheaded, and the whole clan of the Gordons was deprived of its possessions and titles by the Parliament of 1563. Thus did Mary suffer herself to be led to the fatal step of cutting off from herself the very party upon whom she ought most to have relied. Her most dangerous enemy, on the other hand, her half-brother Lord James, returned from the north as Earl of Murray,

with the rich possessions of the Earl of Huntly in his hands.¹

While the position of the Catholics continued to be precarious under Mary's rule, the reformers were enjoying the most complete liberty under her government. The preachers were allowed to pray openly in their pulpits that God would convert the queen, or give her a short life ;² Knox was suffered to inveigh undisturbed against the queen's dancing, and the attire of her court ladies,³ and this at the very moment when this delicate minded champion of morality, then a man of about 60 years of age, was paying his court to a girl of 16, whom he married in 1564.⁴ The Catholics, on the other hand had no share in this religious tolerance. The laws, which allowed a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues to the reformers, were arbitrarily administered by Murray, in such a way that more was taken from the Catholic clergy than was left to them.⁵ In order to practise their religion in accordance with the custom of their fathers, the Catholics had to take refuge in the forests and marshes, while Knox declared that even there they should be harassed by the fanatical reformers.⁶ The fact that the death penalty imposed by law for the celebration of Mass was not carried into effect was, indeed, due to the influence of the queen, but in other respects she was only able to mitigate the severity of the sentences imposed in individual cases.

In 1563 a number of distinguished ecclesiastics were imprisoned, among them Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had dared to attempt to keep Easter according to the usage of the ancient Church. In order to save the accused,

¹ The condemnation of Huntly (in the presence of his dead body) by the Parliament in 1563 is described in the Rutland Papers ; see *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LIII. (1893), 514.

² Letter of the English envoy, Randolph, of February 28, 1563 ; see HOSACK, I., 90 n.

³ BELLESHEIM, II., 45, 49.

⁴ Randolph, January 22, 1563, HOSACK, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 82.

⁶ HOSACK, I., 95 *seq.*

Mary could think of no better plan than to send for Knox and ask for his intercession, although Knox was the very man who was pressing for the condemnation of all Catholic priests. On May 19th the Archbishop and 48 others were put on their trial for having heard confessions, and for having said or heard Mass, and were sentenced to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, though they were pardoned after nine weeks. After this the persecution of priests became more general, and on June 3rd, 1563, Randolph informed Cecil that the Catholic priests of Scotland were taking refuge in English territory.¹

Fortunately for her Catholic reputation, Mary had, a little before this, made profession of her faith before the whole Catholic world at Trent and that in a way that created a stir in the Council.² The Bishop of Amiens, Pellevé, had already reminded her on April 21st, 1562, that Christian princes were accustomed to send representatives to such an assembly in order to assert their rank and dignity, and that not even Elizabeth, in his opinion, would hold back on such an occasion.³ Soon after this the express Papal invitation reached her by the hands of Goudano.⁴ Mary replied to the Pope on January 31st, 1563, by expressing her own good will, and explaining the difficulties of the times, but assuring him that she would do her best to send a certain number of the Scottish bishops to the Council.⁵ At the same time she charged her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to make her excuses to the Pope if she had not carried out all her duties to the cause of religion.⁶ On May 10th, 1563, a letter from the Queen of Scotland was read at Trent at a solemn general congregation, which was held with open doors.⁷ In this letter Mary spoke of herself

¹ BELLESHEIM, II., 46 *seqq.* HOSACK, I., 95 *seqq.* FLEMING, 374-6.

² POLLEN, lxi *seqq.*, 162 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 446.

⁴ See *sup/a* p. 278.

⁵ LABANOFF, I., 175.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Massarelli in THEINER, II., 264. The letter itself in RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. III; LE PLAT, VI., 48.

as "a most devoted daughter of the Catholic Church," and acknowledged that as such she was bound to send some of her bishops to the Council, and that this would be for her subjects as well a great inducement to give to the Apostolic See the honour due to it. The times, however, did not permit of her sending even a representative, and she begged her uncle of Lorraine to give the distinguished assembly fuller information as to Scottish affairs. The Cardinal did this in the course of a long speech,¹ and the fathers of the Council made a reply,² which certainly contained the most splendid tribute which had ever been given to the Scottish queen by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities.

After the close of the Council Pius IV. gave express orders that a printed copy of the decrees should be sent to the Queen of Scotland.³ This was entrusted to her envoy, Stephen Wilson. The brief which accompanied it exhorted the queen to do her utmost to carry out the decrees of the Council, and only to confer ecclesiastical dignities on Catholics who were above suspicion, and to do the same, as far as possible, in the case of civil offices.⁴ At the same time briefs were sent to the two archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, together with exhortations to put the Tridentine decrees into force.⁵ Mary's reply,⁶ in which she again expressed her good will, only reached the Pope after a long delay, and he replied on May 1st, 1565, in words of praise and encouragement.⁷

The queen once more entered into correspondence with the Holy See when the lengthy negotiations on the subject of her marriage had been brought to an end.

¹ The legates of the Council to Borromeo, in ŠUSTA, III., 325.

² RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 112. The letter of reply was composed by Calini. BALUZE-MANSI, IV., 308.

³ Borromeo to Santa Croce, March 24, 1564, in POLLEN, 181.

⁴ Brief of June 15, 1564, *ibid.*, 185 *seq.*

⁵ Both these letters, dated January 13, 1564, in POLLEN, 138 *seq.*, 181 *seq.* Notice of the briefs to the other bishops, prelates, and Scottish nobles, *ibid.*, 184 *seq.* Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 49.

⁶ Of October 20, 1564, in LABANOFF, VII., 6.

⁷ In POLLEN, 188 *seq.*

Mary's relations with foreign powers were, at the beginning of her reign, governed by three ideas ; she aimed at maintaining friendly relations with Elizabeth of England, at the recognition of her hereditary claim to the English crown, and at the consolidation of her position by marriage with some powerful Catholic prince.

In the first years of her reign she could hardly do enough in the way of reiterated protestations of friendship and admiration for her " good sister " of England. On one occasion she said that she wished to honour Elizabeth as an elder sister, and to follow her advice as she would her mother's.¹ She treated as precious treasures, which she carried near her heart, the letters of her " dear sister, and sweet cousin and friend."² The crafty Elizabeth willingly accepted such assurances, which afforded her an opportunity for exercising influence over Mary's decisions, and for interference in Scottish affairs. The hereditary right of her rival to the English throne, which had been called in question by the peace of Edinburgh, she never formally recognized, although she sometimes allowed her ambassador to make use of expressions calculated to encourage Mary's hopes.³

It was above all in the matter of the matrimonial plans of her neighbour that Elizabeth was thus able to exercise a powerful influence. Naturally Mary did not lack for suitors. First of all she thought of marrying Don Carlos, the son of Philip II.;⁴ the Archduke Charles of Austria was also considered for a time.⁵ From the first Pius IV. looked favourably upon the Spanish match, but, in consequence of the representations of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he, at the end of October, 1563, instructed his nuncio in Spain to lay before the Catholic King the Cardinal's arguments in favour of Charles

¹ Randolph to Cecil, November 3, 1564, in STEVENSON, VII., n. 772, 2.

² FLEMING, 321.

³ *Ibid.*, 320, n. 33.

⁴ Colección de docum. inéd., XXVI., 447 *seqq.*

⁵ FOURNIER in *Österr. Rundschau*, 1908, 27-36.

of Austria.¹ But Philip II. had no wish to see the archduke, with his possible claims to Flanders, brought any nearer to the Low Countries, so in 1563 he gave up all thought of the Scottish match for his own son as well.²

Elizabeth had threatened hostilities on her own account if Mary were to marry either the Infante or a member of the House of Austria, but promised that she would find in her a sister and a friend if she made a choice in accordance with her wishes.³ It was probably only with the purpose of still further postponing the dreaded marriage of her rival that Elizabeth, in March, 1564, suggested to Mary as a husband her own lover, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.⁴ Mary, however, towards the end of the same year, was herself coming to a decision, which was to lead her to her own undoing; she was thinking of marrying her cousin, Henry Darnley, who was only 19 years of age.

Darnley,⁵ like Mary herself, was descended from a sister of Henry VIII.,⁶ and after Mary Stuart was the nearest legitimate heir to the English throne. A marriage with him could not but strengthen her own claim. There was reason to hope, however, that he would be acceptable to the English queen in that the match would remove all fear of a foreign marriage, by means of which Scotland might gain an alliance on the continent, whereas Darnley was a subject of Elizabeth.⁷

¹ POLLEN, 178.

² It was only on August 8, 1564, that Philip II. informed his ambassador in England that he had given up the idea. FLEMING, 94.

³ FLEMING, 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 95; HOSACK, I., 97.

⁵ We have adopted the form of the name then in use (Darnley and not Darley), just as for the same reason we give the name Murray instead of Moray.

⁶ The grandmother of both Darnley and Mary was the sister of Henry VIII., Margaret Tudor, who was first married to James IV. of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, whose daughter Margaret was Darnley's mother.

⁷ On February 23, 1564, de la Quadra wrote to Philip II. that Darnley's mother was thinking of marrying him to Mary. FLEMING, 34, 227.

His father, the Earl of Lennox, who belonged to one of the most distinguished Scottish families, had been obliged to leave his own country 20 years before, on account of his relationship with Henry VIII., and had since lived in England, where Darnley had been born. In consequence of representations made by Elizabeth, the Earl of Lennox obtained permission to return to Scotland at the end of 1564, to be followed in the next year by his son, who was presented to the queen on February 17th, 1565. The first impression which her young relative made upon her was very favourable, and unfortunately she allowed herself to be deeply influenced by this impression. In a short time she was entirely infatuated by the youth, who was quite incapable and unworthy, and when, in April, 1565, Darnley fell ill, she visited him very often and nursed him with a mother's care.¹ An eye-witness testifies that she had suddenly become a changed being ; her brightness, her beauty, her cheerfulness were all overshadowed, and her dignity had disappeared. People talked seriously of witchcraft, and claimed that they had seen the magic rings and bracelets.² In any case everyone felt sure that Darnley would be king.

When Elizabeth realized that this time Mary was in earnest, she at once sent orders to Lennox and Darnley to return to England, and tried in every way to prevent the marriage ; but all was in vain, for Mary remained fixed in her resolve. She declared that Elizabeth had no more right to interfere with her marriage than she had to meddle with Elizabeth's own matrimonial affairs.³ The marriage was accordingly celebrated according to the Catholic rite on July 29th 1565.⁴

Mary was not unaware that, on account of her near relationship to Darnley, the marriage could not be validly contracted without a Papal dispensation. She had therefore attempted

¹ Bedford to Cecil, April 18, 1565, in STEVENSON, *Calendar, Foreign*, 1564-1565, n. 1105, 1.

² Thus at least wrote Randolph, who was Mary's enemy after the appearance of Darnley, to Leicester, June 3, 1565, STEVENSON, 1564-1565, n. 1221, 2.

³ FLEMING, 340.

⁴ See PHILIPPSON, II., 401 *seq.* OPITZ, I., 107.

in the first place to get into communication with Rome through her uncle, Charles de Gaise. But at first the Cardinal would have nothing to do with Darnley, and he delayed so long that his messenger only reached Rome on July 20th, 1565. A messenger sent by the queen herself, namely, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, whom she dispatched to the Eternal City at the end of June, only arrived there on August 14th. Between this date and September 25th, Pius IV. granted the queen's request.¹ Thus, at the time of the marriage, July 29th, the dispensation had not yet been granted, though in all probability Sinclair, who celebrated the marriage, as well as Mary herself, took it for granted that it had been issued by that time, or else they thought that, in view of the urgency of the case, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, as Papal legate, could give the necessary faculties.² Almost simultaneously with the wedding Darnley was proclaimed king, and all future acts were to be published in his name as well as that of Mary. This provision, however, was illegal, in that it had not received the assent of Parliament, but Mary's popularity was so great at that time that no one made any protest.³

One reason why Mary thus at length entered into a new marriage is certainly to be found in her desire to escape from the tutelage of Murray, and manage her own affairs. Her choice of Darnley had also been determined by the fact that he came of a Catholic family, and was himself looked upon as a Catholic. As a matter of fact, if, in deference to Elizabeth's attitude, and in the interests of her own hereditary rights, she had to choose a husband who was a native of the British Isles, and one who was of the same religion as herself, her choice was

¹ The brief, which bears the wrong date, VIII. Kal. Iunii, 1565, is printed in POLLEN, 218. For the dispensation in general *cf. ibid.*, lxxii-xcviii, 191-231, and Scottish Hist. Review, IV. (1907), 241-8.

² *Cf.* POLLEN, cxi *seqq.* The dispensation for the marriage of Mary Stuart with Darnley is dated June 1, 1565, and in the *Reg. Vatic.* may be seen the recommendation "de spedirla quanto prima." See EHSES in Hist. Jahrbuch, XL. (1920), 251.

³ HOSACK, I., 110.

very limited. In this the tragic blunder of her life, in having allowed the family of Huntly to be destroyed, was clearly shown.¹

It was only natural that Mary's marriage should have antagonized Murray, and stirred up against her the religious fanaticism of the reformers. A Catholic queen, especially one who was so unassuming as Mary, might still have been tolerated, but with her marriage to Darnley the probability of a Catholic dynasty became acute. As early as March, 1565, Murray had entered into an alliance with Chatelherault and Argyll, by which they agreed to stand together, though with the proviso that this should only be in matters which were not opposed to God and the queen.² At the beginning of April, Murray left the court, where he had so long been all powerful; at the end of the month, however, by Mary's orders, he returned, but he refused to give his consent to the marriage with Darnley, basing his refusal upon the latter's religion.³ He would consent, he said, only on condition that he should himself be made the head of the government, and that the Catholic religion should be proscribed.⁴

The general assembly of the reformers at the same time adopted a threatening attitude. A few days before the celebration of the marriage this assembly sent a deputation to the queen begging her to confirm its decision that the Mass must be suppressed "together with all manner of papistry, idolatry and Papal jurisdiction" all over the kingdom, including the royal court, and that throughout the country

¹ According to PHILIPPSON as well (II., 327), Mary let herself be led into the marriage not so much on account of her love for Darnley, as to secure her hereditary right to the English throne.

² FLEMING, 353.

³ Randolph to Bedford, April 7, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-1565, n. 1085, n. 2.

⁴ Mary to Paul de Foix, November 8, 1565, in LABANOFF, I., 301. "Pourveu qu'il maniaist l'affaire luy tout seul et que mes dictz subjectz congneussent qu'il estoit le chef, et que par mesme moyen (pour leur donner plus de couraige) il estoit nécessaire de bannir de ce royaume la religion catholique et romaine."

“ the pure word of God and His true religion ” be established.¹ Mary made answer that she did not consider that there was anything impious in the Mass, and that she felt sure her subjects would not force her to act against her conscience. She could not and would not deny the religion in which she had been brought up, and which she looked upon as the true religion founded upon the word of God. She had made no attempt to do violence to the consciences of her subjects, and did not intend to do so, but would leave each one to serve God as he deemed best ; she claimed the same right for herself.²

This dignified reply was powerless to change the course of events. Even before it had been made known, the nobles of the new religion met at Stirling to decide what was to be done should Mary overthrow their religion or give Queen Elizabeth a pretext for invading Scotland.³ When she was at Perth on June 30th, the queen received news that, at her departure from the city, which had been arranged for the next day, she was to be seized and imprisoned, and Lennox and Darnley killed. She immediately summoned 300 armed men to her aid, and frustrated the attack by leaving Perth at a very early hour.⁴ The conspirators then had recourse to arms; Murray, Chatelherault and Argyll appealed for help to Elizabeth, whom they described as “ blessed with the noble title of being, after God, the special protector of the champions of religion.”⁵ On July 10th they received an

¹ FLEMING, 108 ; *cf.* Randolph, May 3, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-1565, n. 1140, 9 (p. 353) : “ This day, Thursday, the chief of the Protestants, with the ministers, assembled in the church. Their deliberations contained three heads : first, how to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the Queen’s chapel as others.”

² HOSACK, I., 107. FLEMING, 352.

³ FLEMING, 109.

⁴ Later on Mary said that she could prove, by the testimony of a hundred nobles, that at that time her own imprisonment and the murder of Darnley and Lennox were intended. Letter of November 8, 1565, to Paul de Foix, in LABANOFF, I., 304 *seq.*

⁵ FLEMING, 109.

encouraging reply from Elizabeth.¹ On July 12th, 1565, Mary answered the rumours being spread about by the reformers that their religion was in danger, by a fresh promise of religious freedom. Three days later she renewed this promise, and at the same time sent orders to her friends to assemble under arms at Edinburgh.²

This rebellion was not without real danger. Many powerful nobles took the part of the insurgents, such as the Earl of Argyll, who had almost unlimited power in the western Highlands of Scotland, and the Earl of Glencairn, one of the most powerful nobles in the south-west of the kingdom.³ Moreover, the leader of the conspiracy, the Earl of Murray, was a skilful general, and behind him was Elizabeth, in reliance upon whose help the insurgents had taken up arms.⁴ Elizabeth, however, was unwilling openly to declare war on Scotland, and her secret assistance was not enough.⁵ Mary, on the other hand, in the face of this danger, displayed a warlike courage, together with judgment and decision, which excited the admiration even of her enemies. She herself took her place at the head of her armies, and at her approach the insurgents, who had intended to march on Glasgow, retreated. They seized Edinburgh, indeed, but they met with so little support there, in spite of the inflammatory sermons of the preachers, that they abandoned the city, and Mary was able to return there unopposed on September 19th. At the

¹ BELLESHEIM, II., 53.

² FLEMING, 108.

³ HOSACK, I., III.

⁴ Later on, on October 24, 1565, Murray wrote from Carlisle to Cecil that unless they had been encouraged by Elizabeth and her Privy Council, he and the other nobles would never have ventured upon the undertaking: "If they had not been moved to it by the handwriting of the Queen and her Council" (STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, n. 1592). On the same date Murray wrote to Leicester (*ibid.*, n. 1593): "They were not minded to take any appointment with Queen Mary unless Queen Elizabeth had been the dresser thereof."

⁵ HOSACK, I., 115 *seq.*

beginning of October she again took the field against the rebels at the head of between 6,000 and 12,000 men, but their leaders had already sought refuge in English territory.¹ On October 23rd Murray had a humiliating audience of Elizabeth; in the presence of the Privy Council and the two French ambassadors he appeared before the queen in a simple black dress, and had to listen on his knees to a lecture, in which the great actress taught him a lesson as to the duties of a subject to his sovereign.² She had already denied on oath to one of the French ambassadors that she had sent any financial help to the Scottish rebels.³

To all outward appearance Mary's position at the end of the reign of Pius IV. was stronger than ever. She had at one blow thrown off the tutelage which had hampered her for years, and had shown a bold front to her most dangerous enemies, the nobles who had adopted the new religion, and the preachers, and she had overcome them. It can easily be understood that the queen should have sought to profit by her victory. Among the rebels, the Duke of Chatelherault was pardoned on condition that he went to live in France for five years; the others were summoned to appear before Parliament in March, 1566, when their case was tried, and their property forfeited to the crown.⁴ Besides this the queen tried seriously to enforce her oft-repeated principle of religious toleration for all, in the sense that her own co-religionists were not to be excluded from this general liberty. As a consequence of this the Catholic nobles again began to assist openly at the worship of the ancient Church, and Catholic sermons were once more preached in the royal chapel of Holyrood.⁵ An

¹ *Ibid.*, 113-8. FLEMING, 112 *seqq.*

² FLEMING, 117 *seq.*, 367 *seq.* According to the memoirs of James Melville Elizabeth made Murray bear witness at this audience that she had not come to any understanding with the Scottish rebels! HOSACK, I., 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, December 23, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, n. 1748, 2; *cf.* n. 1751. FLEMING, 118, 369.

⁵ BELLESHEIM, II., 55. Darnley also took part at the function of Christmas night. STEVENSON, *loc. cit.*, n. 1752.

act granting religious freedom to the Catholics was prepared for presentation to the next Parliament, to which the clergy were also summoned.¹ The Dean of Restalrig, who had blessed Mary's marriage, was appointed president of the court, while John Leslie, the Bishop of Brechin, was made Bishop of Ross, and a member of the Privy Council ;² both of these were worthy and deserving men.

Since the nobles who had adopted the new religion had sought and obtained financial aid from Elizabeth, it was natural that Mary should also seek for like assistance. Bishop Chisholm, who had been sent to obtain in Rome the dispensation for the marriage with Darnley, had received the further instructions to approach the Pope on this point. "In Scotland," he told the Pope,³ "it is now a question of existence or extinction, both for the queen and for the Catholic religion. Even before her marriage with Darnley, the queen did all she could to re-establish the old religion, and this was the purpose she had in mind in entering upon the match. She cannot, however, do as she likes with her own property, because her treasurer and his secretary, who are both bitter heretics, will not allow her anything for purposes which they do not approve of. Mary's object is to crush the enemies of the faith, and those who disturb religious peace, to re-establish the Church, and to restore the former submissiveness and quiet ; she is of opinion that she can attain this end very easily within four or five months, with the help of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, and she looks to the Pope for the necessary funds for the maintenance of these troops. This assistance would mean

¹ "The spirituall estate placed therein in the ancient maner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion." Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2, 1566, in LABANOFF, I., 343. "The parliament was opened and two measures submitted for discussion one allowing the bishops and rectors of churches the full exercise of there ancient religion. . . ." Leslie in FORBES-LEITH, 108.

² BELLESHEIM, II., 56 *seq.* *Processus ecclesiae Brechinensis*, Romae, 1565, September 2 and 3, in POLLEN, 512-6.

³ POLLEN, 204-7.

life and safety for the queen, peace and quiet for Scotland, restoration and new splendour for the Christian religion, and a renewal of respect and obedience for the Apostolic See. Without it, on account of the alliance of the Scottish heretics with Elizabeth, the queen can expect nothing but a martyrdom similar to that suffered by her mother."

Chisholm's speech certainly described the situation in over-strong terms. As far as she herself was concerned, Mary was sincerely devoted to the faith of her fathers, and she had in many ways alleviated the hard lot of her Catholic subjects, but it cannot be maintained that she was very zealous for the complete restoration of the former religious conditions. Pius IV., who had not at his disposal the considerable sum of money asked for,¹ answered her courteously on September 25th, 1565, and at the same time informed the Cardinal of Lorraine that the time was not yet come for the help demanded.²

Bishop Chisholm did not go straight back to Scotland from Rome, but was detained in Paris during the winter.³ His mission gave occasion for a series of briefs of encouragement and praise to Archbishop Hamilton, and to the nobles who were Catholics, or passed as Catholics, such as the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassilis, Caithness, and Eroll and Mar, and Lords Hume, Seton, Semphill and Ruthven.⁴

On hearing the good news of the first successes of the queen against the rebels, Pius IV. to some extent abandoned his attitude of cautious reserve. In the consistory of October 12th, 1565, he said that he did not wish for war, but hated it, but that when it had been undertaken by others in defence of religion, it was the duty of the head of the Church to come to

¹ According to the *Avviso di Roma* of September 15, 1565, Mary asked for 300,000 ducats. POLLEN, 197.

² The letter in POLLEN, 221 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*

³ E. Hay to Polanco, Paris, January 9, 1566, *ibid.*, 490.

⁴ POLLEN, 225-7. Raynaldus wrongly ascribes these briefs to 1563 (n. 113). A covering letter from Borromeo to the queen in BALUZE-MANSI, III., 528.

the assistance of Catholics with advice and in other ways, and that this was also the duty of other Catholic powers. The respective Cardinal Protectors should therefore remind the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain of this duty.¹ By means of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Pope advised the queen not to place too much trust in some of her counsellors, who wished to make a compromise at the expense of the Catholic religion at the next Parliament.²

Besides appealing to the Pope, Mary had turned for help to Philip II.,³ and on September 2nd Pius IV. also asked that monarch's advice with regard to Scottish affairs.⁴ Philip's reply, dated October 16th,⁵ showed that Mary's enemies had nothing to fear from him.⁶ A small sum of money which he sent to the queen was unfortunately lost.

Pius IV. also tried to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland by sending a nuncio there, but, taught by his experience with England, he ordered him to go without any external pomp.

By the help of deceit and surprise, the English ecclesiastical laws concerning the abolition of Papal authority, the oath of supremacy, and attendance at Protestant worship, had been accepted by the Irish Parliament in 1560; the president of the Lower House, James Stanihurst, put the question to the vote at a time when the House was very thinly attended, and those present were altogether favourable to the change.⁷ The displeasure of the other members was calmed by the

¹ In POLLEN, 228 *seq.*

² Pius IV. to Lorraine, October 15, 1565. See PHILIPPSON, III., 480; POLLEN, 228.

³ Letter of September 10, 1565, in LABANOFF, I., 281. Cf. Phayre to Cecil, dated from Madrid, November 17, 1565, in STEVENSON, Calendar, Foreign, 1564-5, 2-6, p. 519. Mary had asked for the help of Philip as early as July 24, 1565. LABANOFF, VII., 340.

⁴ In POLLEN, 211 *seq.*

⁵ In MIGNET, Histoire de Marie Stuart, I., Paris, 1854, 421. Cf. POLLEN, 213.

⁶ Cf. Phayre, *loc. cit.*, 6.

⁷ BELLESHEIM, Ireland, II., 120 *seqq.*, 131.

assurance that the new laws would not be put into force. As a matter of fact the traditional form of the oath of loyalty was maintained,¹ and the Anglican liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer was unintelligible to the mass of the people because it was not translated into Irish.² Nevertheless after 1560 the public use of Catholic worship gradually came to an end,³ although it was not found possible to prevent attendance at Mass, even in the neighbourhood of Dublin.⁴ With a few exceptions⁵ the Irish bishops remained true to the Church, and the government only dared to deprive two of their dioceses.⁶ In 1566 the viceroy of Ireland, the apostate Archbishop Curwin, and the other members of the Irish Privy Council reported to the English queen that the new doctrines had only made any noteworthy progress in the dioceses of Armagh, Meath, and Dublin, while they were entirely unknown in the rest of the country.⁷

The great obstacle in the way of the sorely needed consolidation of the Catholic religion in Ireland lay in the condition of the clergy, and especially their religious ignorance. Cardinal Morone, the Protector of Ireland, therefore proposed to the Pope to send a nuncio to the island. It was of course no longer possible for a Papal envoy to appear with any external pomp; Pius IV. therefore appointed for this purpose, not a prelate, but, as had been the case in Scotland, a Jesuit, David Wolf, a native of Ireland,⁸ who, by the order of the General of the Jesuits, was to make his appearance with the greatest simplicity, and was not to accept any payment for his work, not even by way of alms.⁹ Indeed, for some time after his

¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 122, 124.

³ *Ibid.*, 137; *cf.* 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 128, 140. For the apostacy of the Archbishop of Dublin, Curwin, *ibid.*, 114; for Devereux of Ferns, *ibid.*, 129.

⁶ Namely Walsh of Meath and Leverous of Kildare; *ibid.*, 129.

⁷ BELLESHEIM, Ireland, II., 134.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 137; *cf.* SACCHINI, II., l. 4, n. 45.

⁹ BELLESHEIM, II., 138.

arrival in Ireland, in January, 1561, Wolf carried out his instructions so literally that he suffered real want among the poor Irish.¹

The duty of the nuncio was to encourage the nobles and the bishops to be constant in the Catholic faith, and to devote himself to the reform of the clergy by suggesting to the Pope suitable bishops, by insisting that the bishops should promote capable priests, by looking after the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline and the erection of schools, and by watching over the preaching and the administration of the sacraments.²

The news of the arrival of a Papal envoy in Ireland had hardly spread when men and women, barefooted and in the poorest dress, came to him in crowds to obtain the absolution of their sins, and especially that he might set right invalid marriages. Wolf himself relates that in the course of a few months he made use of his Papal faculties in more than 1,000 such cases.³ Many who had been more or less inclined to the new doctrines were reconciled by Wolf to the Church; it caused a great sensation when the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, William Cahessy, who was already a Catholic priest, returned publicly to the Church.⁴ In accordance with Wolf's suggestions, at the consistory of January 28th, 1562, three new bishops were appointed to the dioceses of Raphoe, Achonry and Elphin, who received their episcopal consecration in Rome. Of the three bishops who took part in the Council of Trent, two, MacCongail of Raphoe, and the Dominican, O'Harte of Achonry, were proposed for their office by Wolf.⁵

A grave danger to religion in Ireland lay in the want of schools, where young clerics could receive a sufficient theological training; Wolf had been charged to obviate this danger by all the means in his power, and the Pope himself,

¹ *Ibid.*, 139. Wolf, however, did not remain faithful to this strict manner of life, and later he was dismissed from the Society. SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 149.

² BELLESHEIM, II., 138.

³ Letter to Lainez, SACCHINI, II., l. 5, n. 148.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, II., 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

on May 31st, 1564, issued a bull to the same effect.¹ This bull states that there is in Ireland no university at which men can study and receive the doctor's degree ; that the Irish are too poor to be able to go and study in other countries ; that consequently there are at most six or eight bachelors of theology in the whole island, that one or two at most are doctors in theology, and probably none at all in law,² that for a thousand years the Irish bishops have not given any assistance worthy of the name to theological study ; that, in spite of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent concerning seminaries, and the conferring of ecclesiastical dignities on graduates, it appeared that there was little likelihood that, even in the future, the bishops would change their ways, or give up their custom of conferring ecclesiastical benefices on quite unworthy persons ; nevertheless, in order that, in spite of this, a university and colleges might arise in Ireland, the bull granted to Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and to the nuncio, Wolf, the faculty to use for the purpose of places of instruction convents which had fallen into ruin or which had been alienated from their original purpose, as well as ecclesiastical benefices. This, the bull stated, had already been decreed by the Parliament at Dublin under Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary.³

Later on the schools became the principal object of the care of all the most important men of Catholic Ireland, many of whom devoted themselves personally to the work of instruction. The school of Peter White, formerly dean of the cathedral of Waterford, especially produced a number of distinguished scholars and priests.⁴

¹ MORAN, *Spicilegium*, I., 32-8.

² "Cum Hiberni in propria insula nullam studii generalis universitatem . . . habeant, nec illis . . . pecunia suppeditet, unde in exteris regionibus litteris vacare ac gradus huiusmodi suscipere valeant, propterea fit, ut in universa Hibernia nulli, ut creditur, ad s. theologiae praeter unum et alterum et ad iurisprudentiae doctoratus forsitan nullus, ad bacchalaratus autem in ipsa theologia gradus non plures quam sex aut octo promoti reperiantur etc." MORAN, I., 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴ BELLESHEIM, II., 133, 232.

Neither Archbishop Creagh nor the nuncio could, as a matter of fact, do anything at all to carry out the Papal letter. In 1564 the archbishop fell into the hands of the English; he succeeded several times in escaping, but he passed far the greater part of the rest of his life in English and Irish prisons, and died of poison in the Tower of London in 1585.¹ The nuncio too was thrown into prison, and on May 13th, 1568, the successor of Pius IV. tried to obtain the intervention of Philip II. with Elizabeth on behalf of him and the archbishop.² The distinguished bishops Walsh of Meath and O'Herlihy of Ross also endured a harsh imprisonment for many years.³ The same is also true of other bishops, of Edmund Tanner of Cork (died 1579),⁴ of Peter Power of Ferns (died 1587), who for a time allowed himself to be led away by the blandishments of the government,⁵ and Archbishop Nicholas Scerred of Tuam (died 1583), an alumnus of the Germanicum in Rome.⁶ After horrible cruelties the government executed the Bishop of Cashel, Dermot O'Hurley, in 1584;⁷ like him, the Bishop of Mayo, Patrick O'Hely, of the Franciscan order, suffered death by hanging in 1578.⁸ Besides him, a whole number of Irish Franciscans suffered a bloody death between 1565 and 1580⁹. In order to introduce the new doctrines by force a state of war was declared in Ireland, and in little more than a year and a half about 400 persons were put to death in the province of Munster.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, 152 *seqq.*, 183 *seqq.*

² LADERCHI, 1568, n. 124; *cf.* Castagna to Bonelli, May 1, and Bonelli to Castagna, July 21, 1568, *Corresp. dipl.*, II., 354, 417.

³ BELLESHEIM, II., 144 *seq.*, 147 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 188 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II., 187 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 197 *seqq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 189 *seq.*

¹⁰ Report of Drury, March 24, 1578, *ibid.*, 191; *cf.* 201. For the Irish victims of the hatred of Catholics see O'REILLY, *Memorials of those who suffered for the catholic faith in Ireland*, London, 1868; DAVID ROTHE, *Analecta*, ed. by P. F. Moran, Dublin, 1884. *Cf.* Katholik, 1888, II., 179 *seqq.*

In the trials of the Irish bishops the forms of law were not infrequently entirely ignored. In a process against Archbishop Creagh at Dublin in 1567, the jury refused to find him guilty, although they were shut up for several days on bread and water, yet the archbishop was not set at liberty, while the court inflicted heavy penalties on the jurors.¹

While Creagh was a prisoner in London the government vainly tried to convict him of treason. He was said to have had relations with Shane, a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who claimed the title of O'Neill, and to be King of Ulster, and caused a great deal of trouble to the English government, until he was killed at the instigation of an English official. At that time revolts were breaking out almost continually in that part of Ireland. The government was always on its guard against surprise, but it was only with the greatest difficulty that it could carry into effect the legal penalty of forfeiture of lands against the insurgents. The attempt to introduce English settlers into the confiscated property, and to leave it to them to defend it against its former owners, was a complete failure.²

¹ BELLESHEIM, II., 155. Cf. *ibid.*, 199, 201, on what was done to O'Hurley.

² LINGARD, VIII., 126 *seqq.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION IN ITALY.

WHILE the storm of religious changes was raging over the whole of western Europe, the south remained for the most part untouched by the disturbance. Protestantism indeed knocked at the gates of Italy, and even found entrance in more than one place, but it was vigorously ejected by the Roman Inquisition. The attitude adopted by Pius IV. towards this body was in many respects different from that of his predecessor.

The destruction of the palace of the Inquisition at the death of Paul IV., and the wild scenes that accompanied it,¹ suggested to the new Pope,² even in the first weeks of his pontificate, the idea of introducing a reform of the tribunals of faith more in keeping with the needs of the times. Even during the coronation celebrations it was rumoured that he intended to abolish the powers of the Inquisition, and hand them over to the bishops.³ Pius IV., however, did not go as far as that, but in a congregation on January 11th, 1560, he once again restricted the power of the Holy Office to its former limits, in such a way that only matters directly concerning the faith

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 414.

² The accounts of Pius IV. and the Inquisition in HINSCHIUS, *Kirchenrecht*, VI., 329 *seqq.*, 342, 363; HENNER, *Päpstliche Ketzergerichte*, 122, 369, 372; HERGENRÖTHER, *Staat und Kirche*, 607; PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, VI., 594; PAULUS, *Hexenwahn*, 254; CIACONIUS, III., 873 *seq.* are derived only from printed matter.

³ *Si ragiona che S. Stà vorà che sian levate l' inquisitioni per tutto, lasciandone il carico alli vescovi delli luoghi . . . et questo acciò non segna più tal disordine come per il passato s'ha visto con gran ruina et vergogna della S. Sede Romana. Avviso di Roma, 1560. (Urb. 1039, p. 114^b, of January 6, Vatican Library).

came before it, but not simony, blasphemy and sodomy. Moreover, at the beginning of April, 1560, obviously in reference to the acts of Paul IV., he issued a statement in which he announced that all who lay under censure, exile or condemnation for heresy might submit their cause to a fresh juridical examination, in spite of the sentence pronounced by his predecessors.² On the other hand, at the request of the officials of the Inquisition, the new Pope, on December 10th, 1560, confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by his predecessor on January 1st, in the first year of his pontificate.³ A monitorium issued by the Cardinal Inquisitors on January 7th, 1561, ordered the restoration of all the documents which had been stolen at the time of the destruction of the palace of the Inquisition.⁴ Cardinal Ghislieri remained Grand Inquisitor, since no other Cardinal was willing to undertake that office.⁵

¹ *Avviso di Roma, 1560, Urb. 1039 p. 117, of January 13, (Vatican Library). *N. Signore sta bene et il giobbia [11. January] passato tenne congregazione per sonto della inquisizione, la quale sarà regolata con quel modo et iustitia che desideravano per il passato i prudenti, cioè che non si tratti in essa se non cose meramente appartenenti alla [he] resia senza mescolarvi dentro nè simonia nè bestemia o sodomia. . . . Report of Ricasoli, dated Rome, January 12, 1560 (State Archives, Florence. Medic. 3279 p. 555).

² *Sua Santità ha dichiarato che, non ostante ch'alcuni siano o potessero essere incorsi in censura, escommunicatione o altra condemnatione per causa d'alcuna imputatione d' heresia, che possin' essere realditi [sic!] et possono produrre le loro ragioni et sarann' espediti giuridicamente, non os'tante tutto quello che per li suoi antecessori potesse esser stato giudicato. Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 145, Vatican Library).

³ *Div. Camer., t. 191, p. 145 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ *Editti, Caşanatense Library, Rome. On September 20, 1560, *Pius IV. confirmed the brief of his predecessor of June 26, 1555, by which the Dominican, Tommaso Scoto of Vigevano, was made inquisitor, with powers to summon bishops, archbishops, primates and patriarchs (Cod. Barb., lat. 1502, p. 169-172; 1503, p. 80-83, Vatican Library).

⁵ *Avviso di Roma of July 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 175, Vatican Library).

The sorely tried Cardinal Morone had no longer to remain in the prisons of the Inquisition. From the first, even before his formal acquittal, he enjoyed the special favour of the Pope, whose trusted confidant he became in all questions of importance.¹ On March 6th, 1560, his innocence was formally recognized by a decree of the Inquisition, signed by the Pope,² and the document was read at the consistory of March 14th;³ on the 18th the Cardinal was absolved at S. Maria in Trastevere from certain penalties which had been imposed upon him in view of the suspicions under which he had lain.⁴ In view of his eminent position, so the Pope wrote to the Emperor on March 18th, 1560,⁵ he had immediately after his election entrusted the case of Morone to Cardinals who were beyond suspicion and learned in the law, with the order that they were to examine the whole matter with the fear of God before their eyes. Their verdict was that the whole trial had been invalid, and that there was no evidence of any kind against the Cardinal, but that all the more important depositions of the witnesses, and other items of evidence, had proved his innocence so completely that no trace of suspicion could now attach to him. On the strength of this verdict the Pope proceeded to absolve Morone in the consistory. The other princes, as well as the Emperor, received copies of the verdict.⁶

¹ *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560, *ibid.* p. 117, and of February 3, 1560, *ibid.* Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 307.

² *Editti V., 31, p. 43 (Papal Secret Archives). *Document concerning the absolution, *ibid.*, Borghese, I., 44, p. 1-6, and Colonna Archives, Rome (printed with the autograph signature of the notary, Claudio de Valle).

³ *Acta consist. Cam., XI., 19 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ *Pergamene dell' archivio Farnese 81 (State Archives, Naples).

⁵ *" Nihil contra ipsum cardinalem iure actum, nihil probatum fuisse, contraque et ex plurimorum eorumque gravissimorum testium dictis et ex aliis probationibus certissimis constare sibi ac patere innocentem eum, nec crimine solum, sed omni prorsus suspicione carere." (Brevia 10, p. 89b, n. 116, Papal Secret Archives).

⁶ Thus, for example, *Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara, March 14, 1560 (State Archives, Modena) ; again, *Duke William of

At the consistory of May 29th, 1560, the Papal decision was read which declared that Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, who had been imprisoned at the same time as Morone, was also free from all suspicion of heresy.¹ His companion in misfortune, Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, was also splendidly justified by a decree of the Grand Inquisitor on January 1st, 1560. The examination, this decree states, had resulted in showing his complete innocence, and that the accusations against him were made by wicked and deceitful men.² On the other hand, at the same consistory which had seen the absolution of the Bishop of La Cava, Andrea Centani, Bishop of Limassol in Cyprus, was condemned as a heretic.³ Immediately after the Pope's election Carnesecchi came to Rome,⁴ in the endeavour to get the sentence pronounced against him under Paul IV. annulled; he too was absolved at the

Mantua, March 20, 1560 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 144, Vatican Library), claims to know that writings had been discovered, which had been concealed in the time of Paul IV., because they spoke in Morone's favour. The Pope therefore decided upon a new bull affirming the innocence of Morone, to be signed by all the Cardinals.

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 307. *Mercore in concistorio furono date alcune chiese in Spagna, et al conte Marco nipote di S. St^a quella di Cassano, come scrisse che si doveva fare, et fu pubblicata la condennatione del vescovo di Limosso Zentani com' heretico, et letta l' assolutione del vescovo della Cava, già imprigionato al tempo di Paolo IV. per sospetto d' heresia. Report of Mula, dated Rome, June 1, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna); *Acta consist. Cam., May 29, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives). Ricasoli sent with his report of June 15, 1560, to Florence, the absolution of Sanfelice. (State Archives, Florence).

² The decree in CANTÙ, Eretici, II., 193.

³ See note 1, *supra*. Concerning him cf. BUSCHBELL, 81, 153, 227.

⁴ *Avviso di Roma of March 2, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 133, Vatican Library), according to which the case of Carnesecchi was to be decided at the next consistory.

beginning of June, 1560.¹ The mildness of Pius IV. was also shown by the complete abrogation of the strict regulations issued by his predecessor against the Jews.²

How little, however, in spite of this, the Pope intended to abolish the Inquisition, is shown by the fact that in his first consistory he entrusted Cardinals Carpi, Ghislieri, Scotti, Puteo and Pacheco with the direction of inquisitorial matters.³ A Papal decree of October 14th, 1562,⁴ gave the tribunal of the faith fresh powers. The Cardinals of the Inquisition are named in the introduction to the brief: these were the three Cardinal Bishops, Carpi, Madruzzo and Truchsess, and the seven Cardinal Priests, Puteo, Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera and Savelli.⁵

¹ AMABILE, *Inquisizione*, I., 155. ‘*Carnesecchi fù assoluto nel ultima congregazione del inquisitione.’ Report of Saraceni of July 7, 1560 (State Archives, Florence). Later on Pius V. said that Carnesecchi had escaped by means of lies: “che a tempo di Pio antecessore suo avava dette un monte di bugie, delle quali era stato assoluto.” (Legaz. di Serristori [May 16, 1567], 436). For the other absolutions of 1560 (Galeoto and Bishop Verdura) see AMABILE, I., 234. *‘Don Gabriele Fiamma frate del ordine della pace fu già inquisito due anni predicando in Napoli [cf. SALA, III., 161] mercoledì [April 26] fu assoluto in una congregazione.’ Caligari to Commendone, April 29, 1564, Lett. di princ., XXIII, 50 (Papal Secret Archives).

² See RIEGER, 161.

³ *Acta consist. Cam., VIII., p. 1b (Papal Secret Archives); *Avviso di Roma of January 13, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 114b, Vatican Library). The *report of Ricasoli cited *supra*, 308, n. 1, gives the name of Reumano instead of Pacheco. On August 29, 1560, Carpi, Cueva, Puteo, Ghislieri and Dolera were named Cardinal Inquisitors. Bollett. Senese, XVII., 164.

⁴ Bull. Rom. VII., 236-9. Already, on August 27, 1561, the inquisitors had been given the right to employ secular and regular clerics as notaries; *ibid.*, 138.

⁵ With the exception of Madruzzo, Rebiba, Ghislieri and Savelli, the same Cardinals are named as Inquisitors General in a decree of the Inquisition of November 21, 1561, in PASTOR, *Dekrete*, 66. At a meeting of the Inquisition on July 8, 1561, there were present: Carpi Truchsess, Cueva, Puteo, Scotti, Simonetta,

In the introduction to this decree it is stated that the Pope is working with all possible zeal to suppress the damnable heresies, so that the purity of the Catholic faith and the true worship of God may flourish and that the apostates may either return to the bosom of the Church, or, if they remain obstinate, may, by their punishment, serve as an example to others. The Inquisition was set up by Paul III. with great wisdom, and under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and it had been maintained by the Popes who had succeeded him ; it has done such good service to the Church that it may be described as the strong shield of religion. Taking into consideration how useful, and even salutary and essential the tribunal of the faith is, it is the intention of Pius IV. now to extend its powers, and he therefore now confirms the Cardinal Inquisitors in their office for all Christendom. The crimes of heresy, Protestantism and Anabaptism especially come under their authority, as well as apostasy from the faith, together with witchcraft, it if be heretical, and lastly the prevention of these crimes, even though they be committed by persons of the highest rank, though bishops, Cardinals, and persons of royal rank retain the privilege that only the conduct of the trial shall belong to the Inquisition, and that the passing of sentence shall pertain to the Pope alone. In all other cases even the passing of the sentence shall belong to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and when they cannot all be present, the judgment of two of their number shall suffice. The Cardinals of the tribunal of the faith have further the power of appointing

Dolera, and Reumano, but not Ghislieri, because he was not then in Rome (CARCERERI, Grimani, 32). Later on Mula was also appointed to the Inquisition (GIROL. SORANZO, 100). At the end of 1560, contrary to his wishes, Seripando was added to the Inquisition ; in March, 1561, he had to give his opinion on the cases of Carnesecchi and Grimani (MERKLE, II., 462, 536). That Morone, before his departure for Trent, should have become a member of the " Consejo de la Inquisición," was looked upon by the Spanish ambassador Vargas as a " terrible escândalo." Cicada too was placed on the Inquisition. Vargas to Philip II. April 6, 1563, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 513.

deputies to discharge their functions, of dismissing them, and of calling in the aid of the secular arm. Those who show themselves repentant must first, in public or in private, renounce their errors, and promise on oath that they will not relapse, or countenance any similar crimes ; after a penance has been imposed upon them, they may be absolved from heresy and censures, set free from the penalties which they have incurred, reconciled to the Church, and restored to their former state and office. A special mitigation of penalties is provided for those who spontaneously submit themselves to the Inquisition, even in the case of those who have relapsed. The supreme Roman tribunal can appoint, depose, and punish the commissaries and inquisitors anywhere in Christendom, and it has in general the right to do all that may be necessary for the proper discharge of its functions. It may summon to its assistance even the prelates and doctors of theology or law.

The fact that this decree thus once again gave the Inquisition powers over even the Cardinals and bishops, was, from the point of view of medieval law, an innovation,¹ which, however, was justified by the changed conditions of the times. About a fortnight later this decree was made even more severe by a *motuproprio* of October 31st, 1562,² which expressly referred to the sad experiences of recent times, when even some of those who ought to have stood out "as walls of Israel, had forgotten their duty and had listened to the wild statements of the enemy, and taken their part." Therefore the judges of the faith are commanded once more to take proceedings against bishops, though of the highest rank, and Cardinals, as soon as they show any signs of heretical opinions, and since the prelates against whom this command was aimed lived out of Rome, in places out of reach of the Inquisition, it was ordered on April 7th in the following year³ that a summons to appear in Rome by the posting of an edict in certain fixed places in the city was sufficient notice even in the case of

¹ See HINSCHIUS, V., 474.

² *Barb. 1502, p. 182-7 ; 1503, p. 89-93, Vatican Library, see Appendix, n. 29.

³ Bull. Rom., VII., 249-51.

bishops of the highest rank. Those summoned were obliged to present themselves in person in Rome, under penalty of excommunication, suspension, and forfeiture of their benefices. If they did not appear, the Inquisition was empowered to proceed against them even in their absence.

Before two years had passed the Pope, by a *motuproprio* of August 2nd, 1564,¹ formed a new congregation of Cardinals for the affairs of the Inquisition, on which only three of those who had been appointed on October 14th, 1562, were to be found. The number of Cardinal Inquisitors, it is here stated, is too large, and those who are appointed cannot all easily meet together. On account of the number of trials pending, as well as of those who repent, the discharge of all the duties of the Inquisition takes too much time, and is too protracted. Moreover, under Paul III. and Julius III. only five or at most six Cardinals were charged with the direction of the supreme tribunal of the faith, and it is essential, especially in the case of the Inquisition, that trials should be carried through with promptitude. Therefore, for the future only the following eight Cardinals were to be in charge of the Inquisition: Saraceni, Cicada, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera, Simonetta, Borromeo and Vitelli.² With the exception of the cases of bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, dukes, kings, and cardinals, this commission could give the final sentence in all trials; it

¹ *Barb. 1502, p. 187-94; 1503, p. 93-9, Vatican Library; see Appendix, n. 37. Pius IV. refers to this decree in the *motuproprio* printed in Bull. Rom., VII., 298 *seq.*

² With the exception of Borromeo, the names of the same Cardinals are given as Inquisitors General in a decree of the Inquisition of June 18, 1564 (PASTOR, Dekrete, 25), in which (*ibid.*, 26) the number of the inquisitors is expressly stated as 7. *" N.S. ha sminuita la congregazione della inquisitione et de molti cardinali che vi erano l'ha ridotta a sette, due theologhi che sono Alessandrino et Araceli, et gli altri legisti, che sono Saraceno, S. Clemente, Reomano, Vitelli et Simonetta." Tonina to the Duke of Mantua [without the day of the month] (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cf. the *report of Galeazzo Cusano of June 17, 1564 (State Archives, Vienna).

was to have the same rights as those previously granted to it by the Popes.¹ The congregation was to meet at least once a week, at the palace of the senior member, or in that of some other Cardinal. All that it, or the majority of its members, should decide was to have the same authority as if it had been done by the former congregation or by the Pope himself. The Governor of Rome and the officials of the State were bound under pain of excommunication to obey the inquisitors in all that pertained to their office ; the civil princes were exhorted to show favour to the representatives of the tribunal of the faith, and to give them their assistance. When persons were accused before the Inquisition who were already in prison on account of some other crime, even if they had been imprisoned for some grave offence, they must first be brought before the Inquisition, and only after their case had been tried by that body were they to be taken back to prison and handed over to the other courts. The Papal secretaries were to give their services gratuitously to the Holy Office.

Later on Cardinal Alciati was added to the number of the eight Inquisitors General, and his appointment was confirmed by a brief, in which the earlier regulation concerning decrees made by a majority of the Inquisition was explained to mean that the decrees made by the Cardinals present at any session of the Inquisition were to have the force of law.²

For the most part, the only things known of the activities of the Inquisition are those trials which ended in a public

¹ Here the Pope mentions as decrees by which he had himself given faculties to the Inquisition, those of October 31, 1562 (see *supra* p. 311), October 14, 1562 (*supra* p. 312), and April 7, 1563 (*supra* p. 311). Since all these documents are in existence, we may feel sure that we know of all the more important decrees of Pius IV. concerning the Inquisition down to the end of August, 1564.

² Bull. Rom., VII., 298 *seq.* The brief is not dated, but it appears to be subsequent to August 27, 1564, since in a brief of that date the names of the eight Inquisitors General are given but without the name of Alciati. Cf. PANVINIUS, De creatione Pii IV. (MERKLE, II., 599), where the nine Cardinal Inquisitors are named, and certainly on the strength of the decree in question.

abjuration or condemnation. The Papal decree of October 14th, 1562, makes mention, however, of another field of activity on the part of the Holy Office, which was perhaps more extensive and important. This lay in the fact that when persons who knew that they were guilty of heresy repented and went to the tribunal of the faith, the Inquisitors General had faculties which were denied to ordinary confessors ; they could secretly absolve the offenders and reconcile them to the Church without scandal, or the loss of their reputation and position.¹

From the facts which are so far at our disposal, or from other sources, it is difficult to arrive at any considerable knowledge of this side of the activities of the Inquisition, though it is hinted at in a decree of the tribunal of March 12th, 1565.² This concerns certain members of the Franciscan order who found themselves in the circumstances mentioned, and they were allowed to present themselves before a tribunal of the Inquisition composed of the Procurator-General of their Order, Felice Peretti, the future Sixtus V., the other members also all being Franciscans. With the exception of those who had relapsed, all who belonged to the Order might make their abjuration in secret before this tribunal and suitable witnesses, and thus be reconciled to the Church. All the acts, however,

¹ The Inquisitors General have the power "*Ecclesiae catholicae omni abolita infamia reconciliandi*" such persons "*et pristino statui atque officio et habilitati restituendi*" (brief of October 14, 1562, par. 8, Bull. Rom., VII., 238). An exception is made, however, in the case of priests, even though they have made their abjuration in private ; they may not hear the confessions of the laity any more (decrees of September 2, 1562, and November 15, 1565, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 24. 28. As I have since discovered, these two decrees are given in A. DIANA, *Opera omnia*, Lyons, 1667, 579, and *ibid.*, 577-80 others of the decrees of Paul IV. and Pius IV. concerning the Inquisition which I have published are also printed). Subjects of the kingdom of Naples are not to have leave to return thither even after a purely secret abjuration (decree of September 21, 1563, in PASTOR, Dekrete, 25).

² PASTOR, Dekrete, 27.

relating to their case had to be sent to the Holy Office and submitted to the members of that tribunal.

The proceedings were to a great extent absolutely private, because the congregation wished to keep the way to secret abjuration open. Under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope and the Holy Office the strictest silence had to be observed to externs on all that concerned the Inquisition¹ and it was only with the express permission of the supreme tribunal that the acts of trials held by the Inquisition could be referred to other courts.²

This secrecy, however, was not to serve as a screen, and the procedure was therefore strictly regulated. During the reign of Pius IV., in addition to the Papal ordinances, a decree of the Inquisition of June 18th, 1564, is of special importance in this respect.³ The spirit in which the inquisitors are to act is shown in the first regulation, which orders that first of all the assistance of the Holy Ghost is to be invoked. Under pain of excommunication the members are forbidden to write anything either in favour of or against the accused. The accused may be allowed to have a defender, who may only exercise that office after he has been asked for, and has sworn to make use of no unlawful means and to abandon the cause of his client should the latter prove himself to be an obstinate heretic. He may give his assistance to repentant heretics ; if he knows of any accomplices he must denounce them. The accused has the right to dictate his depositions, and if he does not wish to do this his depositions must be read to him after the inquiry, or at the latest on the following day. The cases before the tribunal are to be distributed in order among the seven Inquisitors General, each of whom may call upon the assistance of the consultors appointed by the Pope. The Grand Inquisitor has, in case of necessity, a certain discretion concerning orders of imprisonment, and in answering letters on arrival, but he must give a report to his colleagues as to what he has

¹ Decrees of January 25, 1560 and June 18, 1564, *ibid.*, 24, 25.

² Decree of February 24, 1562, *ibid.*, 24.

³ Decree of February 24, 1562, *ibid.*, 25 *seq.*

done, and is in general bound to conform in his replies by letter to their wishes. Release from the prisons of the Inquisition is to be made only with the consent of the whole congregation ; in a case of necessity the votes of each of the Cardinals are to be taken at their own houses. The Cardinal in charge of a case may arrange for the attachment of accomplices and witnesses, but he must give an account of his conduct at the next meeting of the congregation. Those in prison are to be visited every month.¹

Other decrees fixed the fees for the officials and executioners of the Holy Office.² A measure that told in favour of the accused was the order that all the inquisitors abroad must read over the depositions of the witnesses in the presence of the accused before they pronounced sentence.³ Torture might be resorted to if plain answers were not given, or if replies were refused altogether.⁴

Pius IV. took little personal part, even in the drafting of the Papal decrees concerning the Inquisition. " His Holiness," the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo,⁵ wrote in 1563, " has made no study of theology, and therefore cannot take part in the proceedings of the Inquisition with any personal authority : he is wont to say that he is content to leave all kinds of business to those to whom it is entrusted. And though it is well known that he does not much care for the great strictness with which the Inquisitors generally act, and that he has given it to be understood that he would be better pleased if, instead of behaving like strict monks they would rather act like courteous noblemen, he nevertheless does not

¹ At these visits the prisoners had the right to protest against their treatment. Cf. the report of a visit to the prisons on August 18, 1561, in A. BERTOLOTTI, *Le prigioni di Roma nei secoli XVI., XVII. e XVIII.*, Rome, 1890, 14 (extract from the *Rivista di discipline carcerarie*, XX).

² Decrees of September 14, November 16, and December 20, 1564, in PASTOR, 26 *seq.*

³ Decree of October 20, 1562, *ibid.*, 25.

⁴ Decree of September 10, 1560, *ibid.*, 24.

⁵ ALBÈRI, II., 4, 74.

dare to oppose himself to their judgment, or at any rate does not like to do so, and very rarely interferes, so that for the most part their decisions are approved by him."

The Council of Trent, as well as the Pope, did not altogether approve of the strictness of the Inquisition. In a letter to Rome, the legates of the Council openly expressed their opinion that the conditions of the time called for a procedure marked by gentleness and charity, so that those who had strayed might be brought to understand that what was desired was their return to a good life and to ecclesiastical unity, and that the Church, like a kind and loving mother, was holding out her arms to them.¹ Similar sentiments were to be expected from the Council itself, as being a last attempt to restore the unity of Christendom. Just as after the death of Paul IV. the Council had promised a mitigation of the Index, so it was to be expected that it could and would show greater indulgence than the ordinary ecclesiastical tribunals in dealing with apostates from the Church. Accordingly, on May 11th, 1561, two Polish Dominicans, who had made their studies at Bologna and were about to return to their own country, told the legates that many heretics in Poland would have been reconciled to the Church if they had not feared the shame of a public abjuration. The legates thereupon agreed to their request, which Cardinal Ghislieri had refused, that certain trustworthy ecclesiastics in Poland should be given faculties to reconcile such persons to the Church with only a secret abjuration. The presidents of the Council had not the power

¹ "Niun altra cosa ci indusse ritrovandoci qui sulla porta della Germania a procurare d' avere quel Breve dalla Santità di N. S. di potere cognoscere le cause degli heretici, si non l' opinione che havevamo, che a questi tempi non si convenisse usare del rigore, anzi che fosse necessario con dolci et amorevoli maniere mostrare desiderio che gli sviati ritornassero sulla buona via, et si riunissero alla Chiesa santa, dando loro a conoscere ch' ella come benigna et pietosa Madre stava colle braccia aperte per riceve li tutti con carità." The legates to Borromeo (in the trial of the Genoese, A. Centurioni), March 8, 1563, published by CARCERERI in *Archivio Trentino*, XXI. (1906), 78.

to grant this faculty, but they had recourse to Rome to obtain it for themselves, and to give it to others.¹ Pius IV. granted their request, saving the rights of the Inquisition ; not even the Council must interfere in the trials which would naturally come before that tribunal.² When the legates objected that such a limitation made the concession almost useless, since almost all those who would have recourse to Trent had come into the hands of the Inquisition,³ the Pope amplified the faculties which he had granted in such a way that it only tied the hands of the legates in the case of the Roman Inquisition, but did not apply to accusations which had been made before other tribunals of faith.⁴ Anyone, therefore, who had been summoned before the Roman tribunal could only, as had been the case before, be absolved at Trent in virtue of a special Papal brief.

After the Council had issued an invitation to those who had separated themselves from the Church, and had given them a full safe-conduct, some of them actually appeared at Trent and were reconciled to the Church, as, for example, a Genoese merchant, Agostino Centurione,⁵ but for various reasons, there was an unwillingness in Rome to send other accused persons before the more gentle tribunal of the Council. The humanist, Ludovico Castelvetro, who, during his trial before the Inquisition in 1559, had fled from Rome and taken

¹ The legates to Borromeo, May 12, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 19 *seqq.*

² Borromeo sent the brief on May 24, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 21.

³ The legates to Borromeo, July 31, 1561, *ibid.*, 63.

⁴ Brief of August 8, 1561, in THEINER, I., 669 ; *cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 64.

⁵ Absolved on April 7, 1563. CARCERERI in Archivio Tridentino, XXI. (1906), 65-99 (with printed account of the trial, p. 79-99). *Cf.* ŠUSTA, III., 155, 175, 186, 247 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*, 280. The Cardinals of the Inquisition disapproved of the leniency of the Council ; in general they considered it harmful to the reputation of the Inquisition to refer trials for heresy to the assembly at Trent (ŠUSTA, IV., 379). For the trial of V. Marchesi, who in spite of the protests of Ghislieri, was sent to Trent, where he probably was judged lightly, *cf.* ŠUSTA, IV., 379, and CARCERERI in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 89-93.

refuge in the Grisons, vainly sought to have his cause heard at Trent; the legates of the Council were informed that he must appear in Rome, at least for a secret abjuration.¹ A similar request in the case of the apostate monk, Pietro Scotti, was even more definitely refused.² The ex-Dominican, Jacopo Paleologo (Mascellara) of Chios, who had relapsed three times into heresy, several times escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition, and at the beginning of 1562 had asked to have his case tried by the nuncio to France, Cardinal Este,³ was sent back from Rome to Trent, where his haughty behaviour caused so much scandal that in September, 1562, Bishops Foscarari and Pavesi, refused to have anything more to do with him.⁴

The attitude of the Pope as well as that of the Council of Trent towards the Holy Office is illustrated by the celebrated trial of Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, before the Inquisition.⁵ When Soranzo speaks of the reserve of Pius IV.

¹ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 282; CANTÙ, *Eretici*, II., 167 *seq.* Borromeo to Gonzaga, September 20, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 76. Cf. SANDONNINI, *Lod. Castelvetro e la sua famiglia*, Bologna, 1882; *Opere varie critiche di Lod. Castelvetro colla vita dell' autore da L. A. MURATORI*, Verona, 1727; *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXX. (1897), 813 *seq.*

² CARCERERI in *Rivista Tridentina*, X. (1910), 87.

³ Santa Croce to Borromeo, January 21, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 382.

⁴ ŠUSTA, III., 11. Paleologo was summoned to Rome on July 1, 1562, and was brought before the Inquisition there; the Pope himself took an interest in his case (ŠUSTA, II., 258). In spite of this they had his cause under consideration at Trent later on (*ibid.*, III., 9 *seq.* cf. STEINHERZ, *Briefe*, 107, and *NUNTIIATUR*, IV., 117). The "frivolous monk" fled to Prague; he was at last beheaded in Rome in 1585, after he had become reconciled to the Church. ORANO, 68, 72.

⁵ Cf. CARCERERI, *Grimani*, 26 *seqq.* For the trial, besides the special monographs of Carcereri and de Leva, cf. CECCHETTI, I., 33 *seqq.*; 49 *seqq.* ŠUSTA, II., 66 *seq.* PALLAVICINI, 21, 7, 8; 22, 3, 10 *seq.*, and II., 1; MENDOÇA, 692; BONDONUS, 570; **Processus in causa Ioannis Grimani patriarchae Aquileiensis*, in *Cod. Barb.* XXXIV, 34 (Vatican Library), and *Rossiana Library*, Vienna. Some documents in I. H. SERRY, *Hist. Congregationum de auxiliis divinae gratiae*, Venice, 1740. For Grimani's attitude towards the Lutherans, cf. STEINHERZ, IV., 287, 381.

in all matters that concerned the Inquisition, he is evidently alluding in a special way to his experiences as ambassador in Rome in connection with this trial.¹

During 1549 a Lenten preacher at Udine had expressed himself in a way that occasioned wonder and scandal among the faithful upon a question that was just then being eagerly discussed everywhere, namely, the divine predestination to eternal life.² The vicar-general referred the matter to the patriarch, who replied in a letter of April 17th, in which he defended the preacher, and sought to reconcile the doctrine with the freedom of the human will.³ The matter would in all probability have been forgotten if the Signoria had not in the following year suggested the patriarch for the Cardinal's hat, as being a prelate who was worthy of that dignity. In order to have "for safety's sake" two representatives for the patriarchate of Venice, the senate at the same time desired Grimani to resign, by way of the *regressus*, in favour of somebody else, which the patriarch did on December 17th, 1550.

In the meantime disturbing rumours as to Grimani's orthodoxy had reached Rome. His physician, Susio della Mirandola, had been brought before the Roman Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, but had been declared to be innocent.⁴

¹ This is proved by comparing the report cited *supra* p. 316, n. 5, with the other reports of Soranzo on the Grimani case. Cf. CARCERERI, 26 *seqq.*

² Appealing to St. Thomas Aquinas, he established the proposition "che il predestinato da Dio non può dannarsi, nè il prescinto salvarsi." CARCERERI, 5.

³ Latin translation of the letter in SERRY, App. 3-8. For the date (1549 and not 1547, as in ŠUSTA, II., 66) and the manuscripts of the letter, cf. CARCERERI, 6, n. 2.

⁴ DE LEVA, Grimani 413, and "Su due lettere del cardinal di Trani al Patriarcha di Aquileja G. Grimani," in the Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Series 5, VII, Venice, 1881. It was rumoured later on that Grimani had received Vergerio in his house, and that an heretical monk was his teacher. Cf. ŠUSTA, II., 66, and Grimani's defence in DE LEVA, Grimani, 451 *seq.*, where there are also particulars of his journey to Rome and the *canonica purgatione*.

Grimani went of his own accord to Rome, and submitted himself to an inquiry before the Inquisition, and to the so-called canonical "purgatio." It was seen that he was innocent, but at the same time it did not seem possible to admit to the Sacred College a man who had been before the supreme tribunal of faith on the suspicion of heresy. All the waters of the Tiber, Julius III. had said, were not enough to wash out such a stain, since the fact of the accusation can never be removed.¹

Pius IV. alone seemed inclined to pay attention to the insistence of the Signoria. During the first months following his election he had promised that he intended to take the wishes of the Signoria into consideration in the creation of Cardinals, and in October, 1560, there had followed a formal promise to nominate Grimani at the next creation.²

Grimani thus had the best reasons for hoping to be admitted to the senate of the Church at the coming creation of Cardinals on February 26th, 1561, when once more he imprudently put forward his views as to predestination and the foreknowledge of God. Grimani's letter of April 17th, 1549, had been sent to the Inquisition, and Cardinal Ghislieri had pointed out in it a number of propositions as being scandalous, heretical, or suspect;³ the letter, moreover, had been widely circulated,⁴ and was calculated to help the spread of Protestant ideas. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the moment to think of the promotion of the patriarch to the cardinalate. The fact that the Venetian ambassador Mula defended his protégé in audiences on February 21st and 22nd was of no

¹ Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 224. It would appear that Grimani's letter was not at that time in the hands of the Inquisition. CARCERERI, 15 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 11 seq.

³ The document in CARCERERI, 15 seq.; and rather differently in SERRY, xlv.

⁴ "Essendo la lettera andata per tutte le parti del mondo," said Pius IV. to Soranzo, in CARCERERI, 32.

avail,¹ nor that a special congregation of theologians, presided over in person by the Pope, to consider the case of the future Cardinal Seripando, pronounced favourably upon the letter of Grimani,² nor that in that same congregation the patriarch threw himself in tears at the Pope's feet, nor that Mula on the morning of February 26th, immediately before the creation, proposed to the Pope, as a way out of the difficulty, that he should nominate him *in petto* :³ the sentence of the theologians, upon whom everything depended, in spite of all the demands of courtesy, ordered the patriarch to present himself before the Inquisition and submit himself to an interrogatory as to his beliefs, and though, at the end of the consistory of February 26th, Pius IV. allowed the Cardinals to state that they intended to vote for the elevation of Grimani,⁴ even this was attached to conditions which Grimani would not accept.

Almost five months of negotiations followed. Mula himself had received the purple on February 26th, and Girolamo Soranzo had succeeded him as the representative of the republic, a special agent for the nomination of Grimani, Formenti, having also been appointed. With the help of these two men Grimani persisted in his efforts to be allowed to justify himself in writing, but the Cardinals of the Inquisition on their part persisted in their claim that an oral interrogatory of the patriarch must be held, so that at any rate they might be able to ask for an explanation of the not very clear statements in his written reply.⁵

At length, on August 19th, 1561, the Pope held a sitting of the Inquisition to consider the case of Grimani, after which

¹ CARCERERI, 15 *seq.* On February 21, the Pope said to Mula : " Il fare un cardinale è fare una persona, che possa esser papa per amor di Dio si guardi bene ciò che si fa ; " *ibid.*, 102. On February 25 Pius IV. declared that they were not trying to condemn Grimani, but only wished to exclude him from the cardinalate.

² CARCERERI, 17 *seq.*, Seripando in MERKLE, II., 463.

³ CARCERERI, 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 ; *cf.* 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 22-35.

he caused the patriarch to be brought in, and told him that out of special consideration for the Signoria, he would be satisfied with a reply in writing, which Grimani was told to draw up at once in the presence of four theologians. The patriarch sought to excuse himself on the ground of the difficulty of the case and his lack of books. But his case was not one that was concerned with abstruse theological speculations, but only with a dogma of the Church, with which, as a bishop, he ought to be well acquainted, and which could be expressed in a few simple propositions.¹ The Pope therefore insisted on his demand. The patriarch was given a list of the propositions which had given scandal, drawn from his letter of 1549, and was told that he must show that they were in agreement with the teaching of the Catholic religion. On September 11th a commission of theologians gave its opinion on the case, which was read to the Pope and the Cardinals of the Inquisition on the 16th.² The verdict of the theologians was unfavourable,³ and the Pope decided that Grimani must be interrogated on the point of faith, and a process opened against him by the Inquisition as in other cases. The Signoria in consequence desisted for the moment from any further pressure in favour of the patriarch, who left Rome without taking his leave of the Pope.⁴

In spite of all this Grimani did not rest, and in March, 1562, it was learned in Rome, from the Venetian ambassador, that he was thinking of submitting his case to the Council of Trent.⁵

Although the Pope had given the Council full faculties for the absolution of heretics by his brief of August 8th, 1561, this

¹ The denunciations of De Leva are therefore out of place (419 *seq.*).

² CARCERERI, 35-41.

³ *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.* See the vote of Lainez in GRISAK, Disput., II., 137-52; that of Felice Peretti, *ibid.*, 52. *Only the Bishop of Alife gave a favourable vote, in the sense that he passed over the apologia of Grimani, and said that everything in the letter could be understood in a correct sense.

⁴ CARCERERI, 44 *seqq.*

⁵ Borromeo to the legates, March 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 65.

concession did not apply to the case of Grimani, since his trial was pending before the Roman Inquisition, and the Council had no authority to deal with such cases.¹ Therefore, in spite of further intervention on the part of the Signoria, the Pope would not allow this fresh move on the part of Grimani.² Grimani's claim, so he informed the nuncio in Venice and the legates of the Council, was baseless, and was not in keeping with the dignity of the Roman See or with the canons ; if he were to persist in it, it would be fatal to him.³ He therefore sent to the nuncio in Venice a summons for Grimani to appear before the Roman Inquisition, which was to be delivered to him before he set out for Trent.⁴ Fresh remonstrances on the part of the Signoria only wrung from the Pope the concession that Grimani should go to Rome to be judged by the whole College of Cardinals, or by a full meeting of the Inquisition.⁵ Pius IV. adhered to his resolution⁶ even when the legates of the Council recommended that Grimani's writings should be examined at Trent and his cause decided in Rome on the basis of that examination.⁷

The matter went no further for several months, until the question was once again brought forward by a petition from Friuli to the Signoria.⁸ The present state of doubt as to the orthodoxy of the bishop, so this petition states, is a source of grave injury to the whole diocese ; the Signoria should therefore take steps at the Council for the settlement of this question, which had now been so long pending. At length Pius IV. gave way before the insistence of the Venetian representatives ; when Morone and Navagero started for Trent to replace the dead legates Gonzaga and Seripando, the Pope

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 317 seq.

² CARCERERI, 47 seqq.

³ Borromeo to the legates, March 18, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 65.

⁴ CARCERERI, 50 seq. cf. 52, 53 ; ŠUSTA, II., 202.

⁵ CARCERERI, 51.

⁶ Pius IV. to the legates June 11, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 201 seq.

⁷ Letter from the legates to the Pope, June 1, 1562, ŠUSTA, II., 173 seq.

⁸ Extract in SERRY, App. 13 seq. CARCERERI, 58 seq.

gave them the writings of Grimani for examination at Trent.¹ The patriarch accordingly went to Trent on June 18th, 1563, and, accompanied by twenty prelates, presented himself before the presidents of the Council.²

Contrary to all expectations, however, the settlement of this long disputed question met with difficulties from the legates of the Council, who, on June 22nd, declared to the Venetian orators that in order to be able to pronounce sentence in Grimani's case they must have faculties given them by a special Papal brief.³ As soon as he heard of this reply on the part of the legates Pius IV. sent them instructions by a special courier to meet the wishes of the Signoria in the matter of Grimani in every way.⁴ In accordance with these instructions great freedom was given to the orators of the Signoria as well as to the patriarch himself, to use their influence in the selection of the prelates who were to act as judges, and the Pope declared himself satisfied with the list that was submitted to him.⁵ The final sitting of this judicial body was held on August 13th, and on September 17th the sentence was pronounced.⁶

Grimani had been wise in his generation when he thought that he would meet with greater kindness from the assembly at Trent. Even his judges at Trent, however, declared that all

¹ CARCERERI, 60 ; CECCHETTI, II., 50.

² CARCERERI, 63 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 86 *seq.* The absence of Grimani from the Council had already impressed the Spaniards ; see letter of the Venetian envoys of March 9, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 33.

³ The legates to Borromeo, June 22, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 92-5. The Council of Ten to its envoys in Rome, June 28, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 50 *seq.*

⁴ The Pope's letter of July 11, 1563, in CARCERERI, 89. A special brief followed, but since the letter of July 11 was more favourable to Grimani, the latter was made the basis of the negotiations and the brief was kept back ; *ibid.*, 69. Cf. the reports of the Venetian envoys of July 9 and 12, 1563, in CECCHETTI, II., 34 *seq.*

⁵ CARCERERI, 70 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 75 *seq.* BONDONUS, 569 *seq.* The general sense of this sentence in CARCERERI, 97-9 ; Cf. THEINER, II., 410 ; RAYNALDUS, 1563, n. 137.

was not as it should be in the two statements of the patriarch, and in their final decision they stated that the two documents should not be published because several matters contained in them were not very clearly treated and explained. Otherwise it was decided that his explanations were capable of a sound interpretation. It was therefore declared that Grimani's letter and apologia were neither heretical nor suspect of heresy, nor would they give scandal so long as they were understood in the right sense.¹

In Rome, in spite of the fact that Cardinal Borromeo sent the patriarch his congratulations, there was but little satisfaction at the result of the inquiry. In spite of the repeated demands of the Signoria,² Grimani did not even now receive the red hat. Nor was he recognized as the legitimate patriarch because he had not received the pallium from Rome, and was still thinking of having his case brought anew before the Roman Inquisition.³ On hearing of the death of Pius IV. Grimani set out at once for Rome, in order to press his claims before the conclave to be treated as a Cardinal, to which dignity he claimed to have been appointed, but he returned home as soon as he heard that Ghislieri had been elected.⁴

Like the Roman Holy Office, the Spanish Inquisition also frequently found itself in touch with and in opposition to the General Council at Trent.

¹ *Litteras . . . cum Apologia iunctas non esse haereticas, seu de haeresi suspectas, neque sic declaratas esse scandalosas, non tamen divulgandas propter nonnulla difficilia minus exacte in eis tractata et explicata* (CARCERERI, 99). Cf. A. BATTISTELLA, *L'assoluzione del patr. Giov. Grimani, Cividale, 1914.*

² CECCHETTI, II., 54 *seq.*, 56 *seqq.*, 60 *seq.*

³ CARCERERI, 80-5.

⁴ Pius V., like Gregory XIII., refused him both purple and pallium. Sixtus V. did the same at a sitting of the Inquisition on October 24, 1585, and imposed perpetual silence on the patriarch's wishes; he died at the age of 92 in 1593, as Patriarch of Aquileia. It was his continued insistence which especially lost him his heart's desire (CARCERERI, 85-7). For the attitude of Pius V. to Grimani cf. GOTHEIN, 527, 539.

When the Council had it in mind to invite the Protestants to Trent, it had thought of extending the safe-conduct in such a way as to include in its invitation all those who had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition.¹ It very soon occurred, however, to the legates that the Spaniards and the Roman Inquisition would not be at all satisfied with this arrangement,² and indeed in Rome they pointed out that on the strength of the proposed safe-conduct even those who were imprisoned by the Inquisition might claim the right of appealing to Trent,³ while the Spanish envoy at the Council made urgent request that this should not apply to the Spanish Inquisition, because it would be the ruin of Spain.⁴ The safe-conduct, when it was at last issued on March 4th, 1562, did not, as a matter of fact, contain any mention of those who were accused before the Holy Office. In order to safeguard the dignity of the Council against the claims of the Spanish Inquisition, they hit upon the expedient, after long negotiations with Rome, of making each nation at Trent name two prelates who were to examine into and decide whether the cases of their countrymen accused before the Inquisition should be referred to Trent.⁵

The sensitiveness with which the Spanish Inquisition sought to protect its rights may be seen especially in the discussions, already begun in the time of Paul IV., which

¹ Cf. the draft of the safe-conduct, in ŠUSTA, I., 146.

² The legates to Borromeo, January 4, 1562, *ibid.*, 149.

³ Cf. the observations made in Rome as to the original form of the safe-conduct, *ibid.*, II., 3.

⁴ "Ci ha pregati strettamente il signor marchese di Pescara che non la vogliamo toccare, assicurandoci che sarebbe un ruinare tutto quel regno." The legates to Borromeo, March 23, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 63. For the "great scandal" taken in Spain at the steps taken by the Council, cf. Mendoça, under date March 2, 1562, in MERKLE, II., 637.

⁵ The legates to Borromeo, March 5, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 41. The correspondence with Rome on the subject, *ibid.*, 49, 58, 62. The final decision of the Pope in a letter from Borromeo to the legates, April 1, 1562, *ibid.*, 75 seq.

took place as to the orthodoxy of the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza.¹

Thinking that the process against the archbishop would be ended in a few months,² Pius IV. had, at the beginning of his pontificate, granted faculties to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Valdés, to conduct it, and had removed the possibility of difficulties, if the powers granted had to be transferred to subordinate judges, by entrusting the nomination of the judges to the king himself. The passing of the final sentence, however, was reserved to the Pope.³ The discussion of the case against the imprisoned archbishop was then resumed. For the moment the Pope could do nothing to hasten matters because the reserve of the Spanish Inquisition had not even allowed it to inform them in Rome of the points of accusation which had been made; it was therefore only possible to give the nuncio Crivelli, who was sent to Spain at the end of 1561, general instructions upon the subject; he was told that he must be careful not to offend the king, that he must be satisfied if he could protect the archbishop from unjust treatment, that he was to try and induce the Inquisition to report to Rome, and that he must safeguard the right of the Pope to pronounce the final sentence.⁴ It would seem that until then they had cherished the hope in Spain that they would be able to bring the whole affair to a conclusion by means of the Spanish Inquisition alone.⁵ From the beginning of his nunciature Crivelli tried to have the acts of the trial reported to Rome, but he had to be content with fair promises.⁶

Paolo Odescalchi, who was sent to Spain as envoy extra-

¹ Cf. Vol., XIV of this work, p. 315 *seq.*

² "Credendo di poter in pochi mesi venir a la sentenza." Borromeo to the legates, November 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 75.

³ Briefs of May 5 and July 3, 1560, in RAYNALDUS, 1560, n. 22, 23.

⁴ Instructions for Crivelli, December 8, 1561, in ŠUSTA, I., 316.

⁵ Report of Giulio Costantini of the end of 1561, *ibid.*, 319.

⁶ Crivelli to Borromeo, June 8, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 484.

ordinary in June, 1562, fared no better.¹ The king told him that it was a very important matter, and that he must therefore proceed very carefully; as soon as the examination of the witnesses was completed, which would be the case very shortly, copies of the evidence would be sent to Rome.² Odescalchi, however, received the impression that the Inquisition was exceeding its powers. Carranza's defender, the celebrated moralist Azpilqueta, was arrested in his own house by that tribunal because he had publicly stated the innocence of his client. At the court many people looked upon the whole affair as a mere piece of persecution, and said that the trial would go on for a long time because as long as it lasted the revenues of the archbishopric would go into the royal treasury;³ out of these revenues Carranza did not even receive the 10,000 ducats reserved to him while in prison by the order of the Pope, in order that, as Odescalchi was informed, the archbishop should not be able to bribe the Curia!⁴

In the meantime, however, the friends of Carranza were not remaining inactive. At the beginning of October, 1562, they were in possession of a Papal brief in his favour, and they had recourse to Odescalchi so that he might deliver this to the principal judge, Zuñiga, Archbishop of Santiago. Odescalchi went, accompanied by a notary, to Zuñiga, but the latter refused to accept the brief, saying that it must first be presented to the king. If Odescalchi had agreed to do this, one of two things must have happened: either the royal council would have discussed the brief at endless length, or the king would have forbidden its delivery, since, as Odescalchi wrote to Rome in August, all Madrid was

¹ His duties with regard to Carranza in his instructions of June 3, 1562, *ibid.*, 478 *seq.*

² Odescalchi, July 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 514.

³ Odescalchi to Borromeo, July 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 513, and Corresp. dipl., II., ix, n. 3.

⁴ "Che non se gli diano, perchè dicono che con quelli se non servirà a corrompere la corte di Roma." Odescalchi, August 3, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 522.

trying to ruin the poor archbishop, whose revenues had been his undoing. Odescalchi tried to induce Zuñiga by arguments, to accept the brief, but in vain; he was told that he must make up his mind to present the Papal letter to the king.¹ The result of his attempts is shown in an autograph letter from Philip to Pius IV., of October 16th, 1562,² which is highly significant of the Spanish caesaro-papalism. The king, this letter says, has heard from Odescalchi that the Pope has sent a certain letter concerning the affair of the Archbishop of Toledo. His Holiness is aware of the care taken by the king that justice shall be carried out with all possible speed and equity in the execution of the Pope's instructions; he can therefore only feel surprise that the Pope, on the strength of unauthorized reports, should have given instructions on the subject without waiting for information from the king, since Philip is always careful to inform His Holiness of everything that he should know. For this and other reasons he has advised Odescalchi not to pay any attention to the brief; the king begs the Pope not to take this amiss, and to issue no orders until the reports of the trial are sent to him.

Cardinal Borromeo sent Philip's letter to Trent, so that the Council might see how far things had gone, and to prove to it that the Pope could not do any more for the archbishop unless he were willing to bring about a rupture with the Spanish king.³

After vainly making application to Philip II.,⁴ Carranza had actually turned to Trent for help. There, in October, 1562, a monk made his appearance as his representative, and presented to the fathers a memorial in which the imprisoned archbishop begged the fathers of the Council to

¹ Odescalchi to Borromeo, October 5, 1562, in ŠUSTA, II., 387.

² *Ibid.*, 386.

³ Borromeo to the legates, November 21, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 88.

⁴ LAUGWITZ, 75.

intervene on his behalf with the Pope.¹ Borromeo, however, on receipt of Carranza's memorial, was only able to reply to the legates that, in spite of all efforts to hasten the trial, they had not yet even been able to obtain the copies of the depositions of the witnesses which they had so often asked for. The Pope did not know what to do; the fathers of the Council must decide for themselves whether it was wise to come to a rupture with the Spanish king, and to prefer the interests of an individual to the general well-being of the Church.² Seripando seemed to be right when he said that it was impossible to come to the assistance of Carranza either at Trent or in Rome.³

After the middle of 1563, however, the affair was brought a little nearer to a decision. Guzmán, a doctor of law, arrived in Rome from Spain in order to make a report of the progress of the trial.⁴ Carranza's friends indeed declared that Guzmán's account must be treated with suspicion, as not being impartial,⁵ but Pius IV. thought that at any rate it was clear that the imprisonment of the archbishop could not be said to be unjust, though in other respects he adhered firmly to his determination to reserve the final sentence to himself, while, in order to secure the production of the evidence, the powers of the Inquisition were extended until May 1st, 1564.⁶ The nuncio Crivelli was instructed to pacify

¹ The legates to Borromeo, November 5, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 54. LLORENTE (III., 266; cf. LAUGWITZ, 77, with a wrong reference to Pallavicini) maintains that the fathers of the Council went too far in their condemnation of the treatment of Carranza, and that they cannot have disclosed Philip's letters to the assembly. CARCERERI in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 81, n. remarks that he cannot have found any support for this statement in the acts.

² Borromeo to the legates, November 14, 1562, in ŠUSTA, III., 75.

³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴ Borromeo to the legates, June 19, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 461, 464.

⁶ Borromeo, *ibid.*, 98; cf. Corresp. dipl., I., 7, n.

Carranza's friends, by assuring them that no injustice to the archbishop would be allowed.¹

About this time Carranza's friends tried to advance a step further by seeking to obtain from the commission of the Index at Trent an opinion upon the archbishop's catechism, which was the starting point of the accusation.² Many of the members of the commission did not understand Spanish, while others who did had the name of being his partisans, as being Dominicans like Carranza himself. Therefore, the Archbishop of Prague, Brus, who to some extent presided over the examination of suspected books, caused the catechism to be examined independently of the commission by four of the most celebrated and learned doctors of Spain and Portugal, and at the same time asked for a written opinion from four Spanish members of the Council, namely Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, and Bishops Blanco of Orense, Corrionero of Almeria, and Cuesta of León.³ The opinions of all of them were favourable to the catechism, and accordingly the representatives of Carranza asked Brus to give them a written statement to that effect, and six or seven copies were given to them, all signed by the eleven members of the commission then present,⁴ and this was immediately sent by Carranza's friends to Spain.⁵

No sooner had the Count di Luna heard of this than he immediately insisted on the withdrawal of this testimony, as being an insult both to the Spanish Inquisition and to the Pope, by whose instructions the tribunal was holding its inquiry.

With this the commission of the Index found itself in a position of great embarrassment. Some of the members were unwilling to withdraw their signature now that it had been given, while others maintained that in a matter of

¹ Borromeo to Crivelli, June 15, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 500.

² The legates to Borromeo, July 29, 1563, *ibid.*, 144 *seq.*

³ Brus to Maximilian II., June 18, 1563, in STEINHERZ, Briefe, 110.

⁴ The legates, *loc. cit.*

⁵ MENDOÇA, 688.

such great importance the commission could only act collectively, that the signatures had not been attached for publication, and that the fact that not a single name of a Spaniard was among them must excite suspicion. Others changed their opinion, either for or against Carranza, so that out of the 18 members of the commission half were in favour of and half were opposed to the judgment which had been issued. Excited explanations followed, by which Brus was seriously offended.¹ The outcome of the affair was that the part taken by the Council on Carranza's behalf brought him no advantage.

On August 12th, 1564, the frequently extended powers which had been given to the Spanish Inquisition to conduct the trial of Carranza were once again extended for the last time,² but by January 1st, 1565, they had finally lapsed, and it became necessary to enter into fresh negotiations with Rome. About the middle of January, 1565, an envoy from Philip II., Rodrigo de Castro, arrived in Rome,³ who sought in every way to induce the Pope to hand over to the Spanish Inquisition the pronouncement of the final sentence on the unfortunate archbishop. Such a concession, however, would not only have been contrary to the established law, but also against the Council of Trent,⁴ and Pius IV. accordingly remained obdurate in the matter; the utmost that he could do for the king, if Philip insisted upon it, would be to send an apostolic legate, who, in conjunction with other Roman and Spanish prelates to be appointed by the Pope, would examine the acts of the trial on Spanish soil and pronounce sentence.⁵

¹ The legates, *loc. cit.* MENDOÇA, 688.

² Corresp. dipl., I., 7, n. 2.

³ Borromeo to Crivelli, January 20, 1565, *ibid.*, I.

⁴ Apart from the legal difficulties Odescalchi saw as early as October 5, 1562, and the legates by April 1, 1563, that the only solution of the affair was for the Pope to take the trial into his own hands. ŠUSTA, III., 288, 387.

⁵ Borromeo to Crivelli, February 24, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., I *seq.*

In June, 1565, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, the future Pope Gregory XIII., was appointed legate for Spain,¹ and in the consistory of July 13th was formally constituted judge of Carranza's cause.² His assessors were to be Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, who was at the same time appointed nuncio in Spain, and the future Cardinal, Giovanni Aldobrandini.³ The Papal judges arrived in Spain in November, 1565, and were received with great pomp, but the question whether any members of the Spanish Inquisition were to be attached to them as assessors⁴ was still pending when Pius IV. died in December, 1565, leaving the trial of Carranza as an unpleasant inheritance to his successor. The Pope was and remained but little edified by his experiences of Spanish caesaro-papalism. Alluding to the magnificence with which the Papal judges had been received in 1565, while at the same time the Spaniards were only willing to allow the provincial councils demanded by the Council of Trent on condition that a state official were present, Altemps wrote to Boncompagni on November 17th, 1565, his opinion that the prevailing idea in Spain was that so long as they showed themselves loyal and devout in such external ceremonies, they could be as obstinate and rebellious in other matters as they pleased.⁵ An instruction sent to the nuncio Castagna in August, 1565,⁶ is full of complaints at the intrusion of the Spanish officials into ecclesiastical matters,

¹ Borromeo to Crivelli, June 10, 1565, *ibid.*, 3.

² RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 7. Cf. Cam. Luzzara to the Duke of Mantua, July 14, 1565, in BERTOLOTTI, Martiri, 29. The bull with faculties for Boncompagni, July 13, 1565, in Corresp, dipl., I., 4-9. *Acts concerning the mission of Boncompagni, which certainly come from his heirs, in Boncompagni Archives, Rome, Cod. D. 4.

³ Pius IV. to Philip II., August 20, 1565, Corresp. dipl., I., 18. Nomination of Castagna: Pius IV. to Philip II., August 20, 1565, *ibid.*, 17.

⁴ Castagna to Altemps, December 18, 1565, *ibid.*, 47 seq. cf. 50.

⁵ Corresp. dipl., I., 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 seq.

and a letter of protest of the same time relates how the president, Figueroa, in defending such acts on the part of the council of state had several times openly said that there was no Pope in Spain.¹

Just at the time when the treatment of Carranza had caused such discontent with the Spanish Inquisition in Italy, news was received at the beginning of August, 1563, in Trent,² and in the middle of the same month at Milan,³ that Philip II. intended, alongside of, or rather in the place of, the mild and purely ecclesiastical Inquisition then in existence, to introduce into his possessions in northern Italy a Holy Office like that in Spain,⁴ and that the Pope had not thought it wise to offer any resistance to the Spanish king's wishes.⁵ As a matter of fact the Archbishop of Messina, Cervantes, had been appointed Inquisitor General for Milan, and on August 7th, 1563, instructions were sent to the legates of the Council to give him leave to depart as soon as he asked for it.⁶

This news caused the greatest excitement in Milan. At the meeting of the civic council which was immediately summoned, and again in its reply to Rome, as well as in later memorials to the Pope, it was openly stated that the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition would mean the ruin of the Duchy, and that if the project were carried into effect the citizens would leave their homes with all possible speed,

¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

² Borromeo to Simonetta, August 4, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 175.

³ Lucio Cotta to the vicar, Gottardo Reina, Rome, August 18, 1563; cf. VERGA, 9.

⁴ Besides the works of Verga, cf. PALLAVICINI, 22, 8, 2-4; CANTÙ, Eretici, III., 38 *seqq.*; BALAN, VI., 507; CARCERERI in Rivista Tridentina, X. (1910), 82 *seqq.*, and the bibliography given in ŠUSTA, IV., 168 n.

⁵ "S. Stà non par bene di farci resistenza" (ŠUSTA, IV., 175). Pius IV. offered resistance from the first. Prospero d'Arco to the Emperor, August 4, 1563, in CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 82, n. 1.

⁶ ŠUSTA, IV., 180.

and emigrate to foreign lands.¹ Recourse was had at once to the governor of Milan, the Duke of Sessa, who tried to pacify them and gave them leave to send envoys to Madrid and Rome. It was also resolved to send a distinguished Milanese citizen at the public expense to Trent in order to obtain from the two Milanese Cardinals, Morone and Simonetta, letters of recommendation to Cardinal Borromeo and the Pope.² In Rome the envoys of the city were instructed in the first place to go to the Spanish ambassadors, Vargas and de Avila, and to point out to them that with the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, commerce and trade would leave Milan, to the great loss of the king. The envoys were next to win over Cardinals Borromeo and Ghislieri to their side.³ The city of Cremona also sent an envoy to ask the intercession of Morone with the Pope.⁴

The news of the Pope's acquiescence in the wishes of the Spanish king also caused great dismay at Trent. If the Inquisition is allowed for Milan, wrote Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, and confidential agent of the Curia, it will be impossible to refuse it for Naples. The other Italian princes would then ask for it, and since the Inquisition in Spain has authority over the bishops, the same concession would have to be made throughout Italy, to the great disadvantage of the Roman See. Out of fear of the Inquisition the bishops would seek above all to be on good terms with the princes, and in the event of another Council being

¹ In the municipal council they were "unanimemente risciolti che questa Inquisitione saria l' ultimo estermínio della Cità, anzi fargli tutta quella provvisione e resistenza dovuta che si potrà ; la qual cosa quando altramente succedesse si è determinato abbandonare più presto le proprie case et andare in altri paesi." Letter of reply to L. Cotta, in VERGA, II. Cf. *ibid.*, 10, Reina in the municipal council, and the letter to Pius IV. of August 29, 1563, *ibid.*, 44 seq.

² VERGA, II.

³ *Ibid.*, 12 seqq. Printed copy of the instructions in CANTÙ. Eretici, III., 39-41.

⁴ CARCERERI, *loc. cit.* 83, n. 2 ; ŠUSTA, IV., 214.

assembled, the Pope would no longer have any bishops upon whom he could rely. Nor is any consolation to be found in the fact that even the Inquisition of the Spanish type is dependent upon Rome, since the trial of the Archbishop of Toledo shows how lightly the Spanish Holy Office regards its duty of obedience.¹ The legates expressed themselves in similar terms. It is difficult to realize, they wrote,² how much the bishops have been affected by the fear that in a short time the Holy Office will be carried from Milan to Naples. Already some of the fathers are saying that they intend to act very cautiously in the matter of the reform of the princes so as not to draw down upon themselves the vengeance of Philip II. and his Inquisition.³ The bishops of Lombardy thought of including among the reform decrees of the Council one to protect episcopal rights against the Inquisition ;⁴ and when this plan was abandoned, 13 of them had recourse to Rome with a request that the proposal of Philip II. might be refused.⁵ All this was reported to Rome by the legates.⁶ The Pope then tried in repeated letters to tranquillize the frightened prelates : if, he said, the Inquisition is set up in northern Italy, it will not be dependent upon Spain but on Rome, it will not injure the bishops, and it will follow the usual course of ecclesiastical law.⁷ The legates objected that this would not be enough if the appointment of the officials of the Inquisition was to be in the hands of the king, but at length they accepted the Pope's tranquillizing assurances.⁸

¹ VERGA, 20 *seqq.* BALUZE-MANSI, III., 492.

² August 23, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 198.

³ Letter of August 19, 1563, *ibid.*, 190.

⁴ Visconti to Borromeo, September 2, 1563, in CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 83 *seq.* On September 10 the plan was abandoned ; *ibid.*, 85.

⁵ Borromeo to Simonetta, September 18, 1563, *ibid.*, 267 n.

⁶ CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 84 *seq.*

⁷ Borromeo to Morone, August 21, to the legates, August 25 and 28, to Simonetta, August 25, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 209, 217, 219, 222.

⁸ CARCERERI, *loc. cit.*, 85, n. 1.

In the meantime they had been working hard in Rome, and apparently with success, against the Milanese Inquisition. All the Cardinals except Carpi,¹ and public opinion throughout the city were opposed to Philip's plan. The splendid reception which was accorded to the Milanese envoys was an expression of the general feeling; the Pope himself assigned the Villa Giulia to them for their residence,² and in conversation with the members of the Milanese colony in Rome he held out to them great hopes, though he forbade them under pain of excommunication to report what he had said to Milan.³

It seemed as though everything was going well for the Milanese, when it was suddenly reported that the Inquisitor General destined for Milan was expected in Rome, and that the bull which was to introduce the Inquisition into northern Italy was already drafted and consigned to Cardinal Ghislieri. The general fear was increased by some remarks of the Spanish ambassador.⁴

Surreptitiously, "by magic arts" as they expressed it, the Milanese succeeded in getting hold of a copy of the brief, which was immediately sent to Milan.⁵ The draft of this document promised the Spanish king the right to nominate the Inquisitor for all his possessions in northern Italy, and gave the Milanese Inquisition all the rights of the Holy Office which had been granted by the Popes since Paul III., including the right to make use of torture.

The first signs of a popular rising now made their appearance at Milan, but the "vicario" at once went to the governor, the Duke of Sessa, who gave the assembled authorities the solemn assurance that he would use all his influence on behalf of the city, and persuaded them not to send their envoys to

¹ VERGA, 15. Cf. Seb. Gualterio to Morone, August 7, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 181: "tutti i cardinali se gli oppongono gagliardamente."

² VERGA, 23 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 28 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 25. Printed copy of the bull, *ibid.*, 38-43.

Madrid and Rome until they had more definite information. The Milanese allowed themselves to be pacified by these assurances, while their agents in Rome renewed their representations to the Pope, with the result that on September 21st, 1563, they were able to inform their country that their efforts had been crowned with success, and that the Pope had promised not to introduce any change with regard to the Inquisition in Milan.¹ As a matter of fact the Pope had told the Spanish ambassador, de Avila, that the protective measures which had been adopted hitherto were quite sufficient to prevent the entrance of heresy into Italy, and that there was no need to talk of the Spanish Inquisition there. Philip II. himself thought it more prudent to abandon his intention,² so that Naples also no longer had any reason to fear the introduction of the Spanish tribunal of faith, so much so that in the following year, 1564, they even dared to agitate against the Roman Inquisition.³

The reason why Philip II. wished to introduce a stricter form of the Inquisition into the province of Milan was the dangerous proximity of Switzerland, and especially of the Grisons; ⁴ it seemed to him that the old and indulgent Milanese tribunal of the faith did not afford a sufficient defence against the very real danger from that quarter.⁵

In the Eternal City itself the Inquisition often had occasion to show how anxiously it was seeking to safeguard the unity

¹ *Ibid.*, 27 seq. Visconti to Morone, Rome, September 23, 1563, in ŠUSTA, IV., 569.

² VERGA, 30.

³ G. CAPPELLETTI, Gianfrancesco Alois e l'agitazione napoletana dell'anno 1564 contra la s. Inquisizione, Urbino, 1913; Rivista storica, 1914. Arch. Napol., XXXIII., 467; AMABILE, I., 273.

⁴ VERGA, 14.

⁵ In their instructions for their envoys in Rome in 1563 the Milanese themselves say that for many years past most of the immigrants into their city had been accused before the Inquisition (CANTÙ, Eretici, III., 39). For the Roman Inquisition in Milanese territory, cf. L. FUMI in Arch. stor. Lomb., XXXVII. (1910), 1-124, 145-220, 285-414; concerning the Lutherans, *ibid.*, 335 seqq.

of the faith in Italy. Three executions on a charge of heresy are recorded during the first year of the Pope's reign.¹ The three victims, one of whom was Luigi Pasquali, the preacher of the Calabrian Waldenses, came from the north, and with the exception of Pasquali abjured their heresy before their death. In 1562 the burning of an obstinate monk and Greek bishop, Macarius of Macedonia, who had already twice relapsed and had received circumcision, caused a certain stir.² He was followed (January 23rd, 1563) by a heretic from Holland, and on September 4th, 1564, by another heretic from Cyprus, who, however, died a Catholic.³ All these were foreigners, but in June, 1564, it was discovered that even the orthodoxy of the Roman nobility was not entirely above suspicion, and seven of the noblest Romans, among them the Marquis de Vico, a nephew of Paul IV., were summoned before the Holy Office to answer to a charge of heresy.⁴

¹ The executions took place on August 13, September 15 and 25, 1560 (ORANO, 9 *seq.*) One of the three was perhaps not a heretic. According to BENRATH (*Realenzyklop. of Herzog*, IX³, 539) two other *ministers* of the Waldensians, Stefano Negrini and Giacomo Borelli, were burned together with Pasquali. Orano and an *Avviso di Roma of September 21, 1560 (Vatican Library) say nothing of this; BERTOLOTI (*Martiri*, 29) makes Negrini die (when?) of starvation. For the heretics discovered in Rome in May, 1561, among them two Sienese, see *Bollettino Senese*, XVII., 166.

² ORANO, 13 (June 10, 1562). *Avviso di Roma of June 13, 1562: "Qua in Roma si è abbruciato vivo un vescovo Greco, che ha rinegato due volte et era circonciso, e si ha poi brusato cinque o sei statue di altri eretici." (Urb. 1039, p. 372, Vatican Library).

³ ORANO, 13 *seq.*

⁴ *Sono appresso instituti qui alla inquisizione sette delli principali di quella città per sospetti di hersia, fra li quali uno dei primi è il marchese de Vico, il quale anco si processa del regno per essere andato contro Beneventani per differenze che hanno insieme de' territorii, in forma di essercito come scrissi. Fr. Tonina to the Duke of Mantua, June 17, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The trial was still going on on April 7, 1565; an *Avviso

We are exceptionally well informed as to the activities of the supreme Roman tribunal during the last two years of the reign of Pius IV., in a volume of the acts of the Roman Inquisition which got taken to Dublin by some means not yet explained. The six condemnations which it contains for the years 1564 and 1565 all concern strangers to Rome.¹

Protestant students from Germany not infrequently visited Italy in the XVIth century, who, for the most part, if they were careful, were able to travel about unmolested.² For some unknown reason, however, it happened in June, 1565, that while he was travelling in Italy, Philip Camerarius, a son of the famous Leipsic professor, Joachim Camerarius, was imprisoned with his companion on a charge of Protestantism; by the intervention of Duke Albert of Bavaria and the Emperor Maximilian II., both of them were liberated at the beginning of August.³ •

di Roma (Urb. 1940, p. 9b) records that on that date de Vico had obtained from the Pope the privilege of not being placed in the prison of the Inquisition, but of going of his own accord to the Castle of St. Angelo.

¹ This volume contains the following for the time of Pius IV. : 1. *Sententia contra fr̃m. Thomam de Fabianis de Mileto O. Sti Franc. Conv.*, 16 dec., 1564, published by R. GIBBINGS, *A case of a Minorite friar*, Dublin, 1853; *cf.* RULE, *History of the Inquisition*, II., London, 1874, 196 *seq.* 2. *Sententia contra Giovanni Micro de Napoli pro fisco*, 16 dec., 1564, published by K. BENRATH in *Rivista cristiana*, VII. (1979), 464-7. 3. *Sententia contra Joh. Bapt. Saxum de Caserta*, ult. febr., 1565, *ibid.*, 467-8. 4. *Sententia contra Ioa. Paganum de Caserta*, 12 apr., 1565, *ibid.*, 468-9. 5. *Sententia contra Marcum Bergamascum de St. Germano*, 16 sept., 1565, *ibid.*, 469-71. 6. *Sententia contra Aurelium della Vista di Sto Angelo ad Fossanella*, 4 oct., 1565, *ibid.*, 471-2.

² ELKAN, *Philipp Marnix*, 72.

³ A letter of Cardinal Circada of Dec. 5, 1567 (ROSI, *Riforma in Liguria*, 144; *cf.* 75) alludes to the case "d'alcuni favoriti del duca di Sassonia prigioni in Roma (ai tempi di Pio IV.)" and it is said "che si lasciorno andare per paura che quel duca non facesse amazzare li nostri nuntii che andavano per Germania

Of great importance for the activity of the Inquisition, as well as for the preservation of the unity of faith in Italy, was the influence exercised by Pius IV. over the Italian states. The courts of Mantua and Urbino were connected with him by ties of relationship,¹ but even the other states had to take him into account. The chief difficulties with regard to the sending of heretics to Rome came from the Republic of Venice,² though in other respects Pius IV. was

intimando il concilio." (Cf. also STEINHERZ, IV., 444 *seq.*). The report of Philip Camerarius is published in IO. GEORGII SCHEL-HORNII, *De Vita, fatis ac meritis Philippi Camerarii*, Nuremberg, 1740; cf. CANISII *Epist.*, V., 741 *seqq.*, 750 *seqq.*; STEINHERZ, IV., 421 *seq.*; MASIUS, *Briefe*, 366; BERTOLOTTI, *Martiri*, 32; Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, XLV. (1868), 65 *seqq.*; KANNE, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Finsternis*, etc., Frankfort, 1822. See also the report of Serristori of August 11, 1565, (State Archives, Florence).

¹ See GIROL. SORANZO, 114-15, and GIAC. SORANZO, 155 *seq.*, where there are particulars of certain misunderstandings. In a *brief of February 14, 1564, Pius IV. asked the Duke of Mantua to give him the help of the secular power against heretics in the diocese of Turin who would not abjure. (Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 219, Papal Secret Archives).

² On February 22, and again on March 29, 1560, Pius IV. asked Venice to hand over Francesco Stella, and to protect Felice da Montalto, the inquisitor at Vicenza, who was threatened by the members of his own order; see the *brief in App., nos. 1 and 2 (Papal Secret Archives). The Signoria however, was opposed to Montalto and would not accede to the request. On this account, as well as over the demand made by the Roman Inquisition a short time afterwards for the handing over of another suspect, Fra Andrea de Michaelle, constant and angry disputes arose; see the *reports of Mula, dated Rome, May 18 and 22, June 15, August 31, September 7 and 21, October 19 and 26, 1560, and February 21, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives, and Court Library, Vienna). Cardinal Ghislieri, who could not later on as Pope forget these disputes (see P. TIEPOLO, 191), would not give way on the question, having the idea that Venice wished to model its Inquisition upon that of Spain. The Roman Inquisition insisted on the handing over of the accused on the ground that in

on the best of terms with that state. From the first he had shown what great importance he attached to the friendship of the only Italian state which was still quite independent, to which fact the hope of protection against a Protestant invasion of Italy also contributed.¹ The utter disgrace with his government incurred by the Venetian ambassador, Mula, who was deprived of his office and banished because, contrary to Venetian law, he had accepted the cardinalate,² did not bring about any substantial change in this attitude; the republic continued to be honoured in every way, and repeatedly received favours from the Pope.³ On its side

Venice the witnesses would not be able to give their evidence freely. On June 19, 1560, Pius IV. appointed the Dominican Bartolomeo de Lugo (see FONTANA, 454 *seq.*), Inquisitor General at Venice, to deal with the cases of the Friars Minor among the accused. For the recall of F. de Montalto see also TEMPESTA, Sisto V., I, 58. On March 28, 1561, Pius IV. demanded the handing over of the two other accused; see in App. n. 7 the *brief to Cardinal P. F. Ferreri, of that date (State Archives, Venice).

¹ See MOCENIGO, 10, *seq.*, 63.

² See GIROL. SORANZO, 100, and GIAC. SORANZO, 139; HILLIGER, 115.

³ See GIROL. SORANZO, 115 *seqq.* It was only towards the end of the pontificate of Pius IV. that there was a cooling in the relations on account of the displeasure of the Pope with the attitude of Venice during the Council, and the strict insistence upon the disgrace of Mula (*cf.* GIROL. SORANZO, 151 *seqq.*; 156 *seqq.*; see also Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital., 1900, 15). But even then Pius IV. granted them favours and showed his goodwill by the gift of the Palazzo di Venezia (June 10, 1564). It is true that what influenced him in this was the secret thought that the rich republic would contribute to the beauty of Rome by completing the unfinished Palazzo, a hope which, however, was not fulfilled. *Cf.* the careful notes in DENGEL, Der Palazzo di Venezia, 103 *seqq.* in conjunction with which we may also note the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 5, 1564: "Dominica mattina pross^a passata l' ambasciatore di Venetia fu a pigliare il possesso del palazzo di S. Marco in nome della S^{ma} S^{ia} come donata gli da S. B^{ue}, et qui

the government of Venice firmly upheld its own right to watch over the tribunals of the inquisition, though it did not fail to take action against the cases of heresy discovered in its territory.¹

Cosimo I., Duke of Florence was, speaking generally, very accommodating in matters that concerned the Inquisition.² All the ambassadors speak of the Pope's intimate relations with the Duke.³ Cosimo looked forward to the fulfilment of his ambitious schemes, and especially of receiving the title of king, since, like everybody else, he underestimated the independence of character of Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici.⁴ He had every reason, however, to be satisfied with what he obtained. The first creation of Cardinals had already given his son Giovanni the red hat, while during his stay in Rome in November and December, 1560, the Pope had heaped favours upon him; he gave the Duke, who was a connoisseur of the arts, the magnificent column which now stands in the Piazza Trinità in Florence, as well as many

si oppose il card^{le} Pisani qual dice ch' egli ha havuto et ha poco rispetto, et che non se ha potuto fare questa donazione in pregiudicio suo, mentre che vive per il decreto et ordine di Paulo II. veneto che lo edificò et volse che sempre cedesse a beneficio del più vecchio cardinale venetiano, et ancora non si è potuto esso r^{mo} Pisani acquetare." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the *report of G. Cusano of June 17, 1564 (Court and State Archives, Vienna).

¹ See DE LEVA, *Degli eretici di Cittadella*, Venice, 1873, 65 *seq.*; *cf.* BENRATH, 63 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*; ELZE in *Rivista crist.*, III., 20 *seq.* For the Anabaptists in Venetian territory, see *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, LVIII. (1885), 38 *seq.* For Vicenza see ŠUSTA, IV., 93, 99, 118, 143. For Padua, *ibid.*, 143, and *Arch. stor. Ital.*, ser. 5, XV., 417. For Verona, PALLAVICINI, 24, 9, 3.

² For the Inquisition in Tuscany *cf.* LE BRET, VIII., 548 *seq.*; HINSCHIUS, VI., 338.

³ See MOCENIGO, 60 *seq.*; GIROL. SORANZO, III *seq.*; GIAC. SORANZO, 152 *seq.*

⁴ See ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 64, 66 *seq.*

antique statues.¹ The right of patronage for the archbishoprics of Florence, Siena and Pisa, and of six other bishoprics, which was granted to Cosimo in January, 1561, was of great importance from the point of view of ecclesiastical policy.² The next creation of Cardinals, in February, brought disappointment to the Duke, but on the death of Giovanni de' Medici (November 2nd, 1562) Pius IV. raised Cosimo's third son Ferdinand to the cardinalate in January, 1563, so that the rich benefices of his dead brother remained in the hands of the House of Medici.³ Many people thought that Cosimo, who frequently received autograph letters from the Pope, could do anything he liked with his former protégé. Giacomo Soranzo, however, categorically denies this; it was only in financial matters that the Duke had any real influence, whereas in other matters, and even in the dispute for precedence between Ferrara and Florence, Cosimo was very far from getting all he wanted.⁴ It is noteworthy that he did

¹ See GAYE, III., 43 *seq.*; MICHAELIS in *Jahrbuch des Deutsch Archäol. Instituts*, V., 43 *seq.*; LANCIANI, III., 250. The importance which Pius IV. attached to Cosimo is also shown by the splendid reception accorded to the "Principe de Firenze"; *cf.* the *report of the Bishop of Anglona, dated Rome, November 5, 1561 (State Archives, Modena), and the *letters of Fr. Tonina of November 9 and 12, 1561. Tonina further *reports on November 15, 1561, that Cardinal Ricci had presented a magnificent antique bust (of Pyrrhus) to the prince (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See *Avviso di Roma of January 8, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 239, Vatican Library), and GIROL. SORANZO, III., who mentions the concessions for the foundation of the Order of St. Stephen (*cf. infra*, Chapter X). Montepulciano was made a bishopric at the request of Cosimo in 1561; see CIACONIUS, III., 881.

³ See REUMONT, III., 2, 573; also in *Toscana*, I., 320.

⁴ See GIAC. SORANZO, 153 *seq.* The relations of Cosimo with Pius IV. are deserving of a special monograph based on documents in the State Archives, Florence, which contain numerous autograph letters of the Pope, especially of the first years of his pontificate. It is beyond doubt that the jealousy and envy of the other powers exaggerated the influence of Cosimo over Pius IV.

not attain to his chief aim of obtaining the title of king. In this matter the opposition of the Hapsburgs was of decisive weight; Philip II. saw with much displeasure the close relations between the Pope and Florence, and feared that any increase of his power would put Cosimo in a position to cause disturbance to the Spanish possessions in Italy; he therefore not only resisted Cosimo's scheme of becoming a king, but even prevented his meeting with the Pope at Bologna. The fear of a league of the Italian states still haunted the Spanish monarch,¹ and he very much disliked the establishment of the nunciature of Florence.² Nor was it only the Spaniards who worked against Cosimo in Rome, but Cardinal Borromeo as well, who was very far from being

For the disputes about precedence between Ferrara and Florence see the numerous *reports of Alessandro Grandi in the State Archives, Modena, in which the jealousy of the Este is strongly expressed. Thus Grandi reports on May 6, 1562: **" Il Papa è più affett^{mo} al duca di Firenze che mai "* (State Archives, Modena). The often rather strained relations of Pius IV. with the Este, as with the Farnese at Parma, was connected with the hostile attitude towards them taken up by Cosimo I., as Girol. Soranzo brings out (p. 114 *seq.*). In the case of Ferrara there was the further question of the salt monopoly of Comacchio (*cf.* GIAC. SORANZO, 154), and the fear felt by the Este lest the Pope should threaten the existence of their state in the interests of his nephews, a thing which Cardinal Borromeo categorically denied. (See the *report of A. Grandi, dated Rome, July 22, 1562, State Archives, Modena). How the Duke of Ferrara behaved is described by Soranzo (p. 114): *" Va dissimulando saviamente e non lascia addietro alcun officio che si convenga ad ubbidiente vassallo della Sede Apostolica facendo sempre parte a S. Stà di tutte le cose che stima desiderate a lei."* Cardinal Ippolito d'Este worked indefatigably to bring about an understanding (see GIROL. SORANZO, 155), but at the last moment the action of the Duke against a Papal collector of tithes led to new and violent disputes. (See the *report of C. Luzzara, dated Rome, March 24, 1565, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the severity of Pius IV. to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, see ŠUSTA, IV., 371 *seq.*, 377, 409.

¹ See Fedeli⁷ in ALBÈRI, II., I, 371 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 382.

well-disposed to him. All the more eagerly therefore did the Duke try to win over the other Cardinals, the nephews, and above all the Pope himself,¹ who remained devoted to him to the end.²

As was the case in Tuscany,³ so was the Inquisition called upon to take action against the religious innovators at Lucca and Genoa.⁴

¹ See GIROL. SORANZO, 112 *seq.* Cf. the **report of Fr. Tonina of January 23, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See GIAC. SORANZO, 153.

³ A letter from the Roman Inquisition in 1564 to the Bishop of Volterra asked him to take proceedings against an heretical body at S. Gimignano near Siena; see BATTISTINI, *Un'accademia di eretici a S. Gimignano*, in *Miscell. stor. d. Valdelsa*, XXIII. (1913), 3. For heresy at Siena, cf. Bollett. Senese, XVII., 164 *seqq.*

⁴ * For Lucca see SICKEL, *Konzil*, 133; cf. RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 138; *Arch. stor. Ital.*, X., App. 176 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, I., 224. After the conclusion of the Council of Trent Cardinal Borromeo exhorted the city to break off its relations with the Lucchese Protestants at Geneva. For the way in which later on a vigilance commission against heresy was set up at Lucca, and how the city received the Golden Rose in 1565, cf. M. ROSI, *La riforma relig. e l'Italia nel sec. xvi.*, Catania, 1892, 8 *seq.* After the nuncio in France, Gualterio, had reported to Rome that among the Lucchesi resident at Lyons there were only three families free from heresy, the Council of Lucca received from Parensi, its envoy in Rome, the advice that energetic measures should be taken by the republic to counteract the bad impression made in Rome by Gualterio's report (E. LAZZARESCHI in *La Scuola cattolica*, 1910, II., 281). As a result, on January 9, 1562, a decree was issued by the Council of Lucca which (1) placed a price of 300 gold scudi upon the heads of six Lucchesi who had been declared heretics and rebels, if they showed themselves in Italy, Spain, France, Flanders and Brabant; (2) extends and amplifies for the Lucchesi in Lyons all the laws passed in 1545 at Lucca concerning religious disputations, prohibited books, attendance at Catholic worship, the reception of the sacraments, etc.; (3) prohibits all its subjects to attend heretical sermons; (4) calls upon the Council to enforce these laws strictly (*Arch. stor. Ital.*, X., App. 176 *seqq.*; the names of

The situation of the Church in Savoy was a cause of great anxiety, for there it was threatened by the Waldensians, who were so numerous in the valleys of the Alps. The forti-

those exiled, *ibid.*, 450). The decree fulfilled its object of satisfying the Pope; a brief of Pius IV. of January 20, 1562 (*ibid.*, 178; RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 138), and a letter from Borromeo of January 23 (LAZZARESCHI, *loc. cit.*, 282) praises the zeal of the Council; the decree, however, was not put into force. Fresh complaints at the rebellious attitude of the Lucchesi in France and at Lyons gave occasion for a further letter from Borromeo on December 18, 1563, in which he demands the carrying out of these decrees "che vogliano rinnovare gli ordini fatti sopra ciò con asseguirli severamente contro li delinquenti" (thus LAZZARESCHI, *loc. cit.*, 284, who rightly passes over the certainly wrong text in SALA, Documenti, III., 289). This is the letter on the strength of which Lord Acton in his letters maintains that Borromeo in his capacity of Papal secretary wished for the killing of the Protestants, and complained that no heretic's head had been sent to Rome (!): "Saint Charles Borromeo, when he was the Pope's nephew and Minister, wrote a letter requiring Protestants to be murdered and complaining that no heretical heads were forwarded to Rome in spite of the reward that was offered for them." (Letters to Mary Gladstone, ed. H. Paul, London, 1904, 186; cf. BELLESHEIM in Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXXXIX., 1907, 772). But (1) as far as Pius IV. is concerned, in the brief of January 20, 1562 (*loc. cit.*), the Pope expressly enumerates the points which he approves and praises in the religious laws concerning Lyons: "Exempla etiam litterarum legimus, per quas eiusdem Consilii mandato cives vestri, qui Lugduni negotiantur diligenter et severe admodum, ut decuit, admoniti fuerunt: *ut haereticorum omnium congressus, colloquia et conciones vitent, omnibusque dictis et factis declarent*, se s. Romanae Ecclesiae ritus, instituta et praecepta servare, neque ulla in re a recta fide et catholica regione deflexisse." In this there is no mention of any decree of banishment against the Protestants, to which the eulogies of the Pope make no reference. It is well known that it was considered unseemly for a priest to take part in pronouncing a sentence of death, no matter how just, or to assist at its carrying out. This in certain circumstances might even involve ecclesiastical censures. (2) The same thing naturally applies to the official

fied places, especially Turin and Chieri, which by the terms of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had remained in the hands of the French, had become hot-beds of Calvinist propaganda, owing to the indifference of the representatives of the French government.¹ The attitude taken up towards this state of affairs by Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, was all the more important as the organization of active measures against Geneva, the head-quarters of Protestantism in western Europe, depended upon him. Pius IV. was convinced that some decisive steps would have to be taken against "the new Rome of the heretics," and he therefore energetically took up the plan, already mooted by Paul IV., of crushing the viper in its own nest.² For this purpose the Pope counted

declarations of his minister as to the brief of the Pope. As a matter of fact, Borromeo, in his letter of November 18, 1563 (*loc. cit.*) only speaks of the laws passed in Lucca "che li loro cittadini et sudditi, che sono in Francia, *vivessero cattolicamente*" and he asks for the renewal and strict carrying out of the laws made *for that purpose*. He, too, does *not* speak of the order for proscription, and evidently on purpose, and for the same reason as that which kept the Pope silent (*cf.* H. THURSTON in *The Month*, 1910, II., 401 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, *Eretici*, II., 471). Moreover, Borromeo's insistence that the senate should *carry out* the laws, cannot in the nature of things refer to the order for proscription, since the declaration of banishment is merely a declaration; if it is issued and renewed the senate had done its duty; what else has the senate got to "carry out"? No historian would expect to find in those days any disapproval on the part of the Pope of even strict measures against the heretics, but this does not imply any express approval of the order for proscription. As to Genoa, besides ROSI, *Riforma*, 55 *seqq.*, 600 *seq.*, see FONTANA, 460 *seq.* and in Appendix Nos. 3, 4, 22, 34, the *letters of Ghislieri (University Library, Genoa). By a *brief of December 26, 1563, Pius IV. allowed "Hieronymus de Franchis O. Pr. inquisit. Genuensis" to summon to Genoa and try heretics from all parts of the republic (Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 408, Papal Secret Archives).

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 100 *seq.*; II., 394.

² See WIRZ, *Bullen und Breven* (Quellen zur Schweizergesch., XXI.), 376 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 317 *seq.* Cf. SICKEL, *Konzil*, 51 *seq.*, and CRAMER, I., 50 *seq.*

above all on the Duke of Savoy and the Catholic Swiss Cantons, as well as upon the help of the Spaniards and the Venetians. In the summer of 1560 he set aside 20,000 gold scudi for the Catholic Swiss Cantons, and promised a similar subsidy to the Duke of Savoy if he would undertake the projected campaign against Geneva.¹ The Duke agreed to do this; he was a strong Catholic and an old friend of the Pope,² and had shown his zeal against the new religion as early as February 15th, 1560, by the issue of a severe edict against the Waldensians in his Alpine valleys, which he had at once proceeded to put into force.³ The nunciature which was established in Piedmont in June, 1560, became the centre of the Catholic activities; this Pius IV. entrusted to Francesco Bachodi, who was given the powers of legate *a latere*. The Pope and the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, sent with him the Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, who sought by means of sermons, disputations, and the establishment of seminaries for Catholic missionaries to obtain some lasting success.⁴ When gentle measures failed, they took action against the Waldensians by force of arms, but the Duke met with such determined resistance that he found himself obliged to grant to his enemies the free exercise of their religion within certain clearly defined districts by the peace of Cavour on June 5th, 1561.⁵ The Pope's zeal for the war projected against Geneva in June, 1560, had been cooled by the in-

¹ See SALA, III., 22 *seq.*; CRAMER, I., 54.

² See A. Boldù in ALBÈRI, II., I, 421 *seq.*, 459 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 2, 35.

³ See KARTTUNEN 38 *seq.*; BALAN VI., 510. A *brief of Pius IV., dated May 30, 1560, praises Franc. archiepsc. Panormit. for his zeal as inquisitor in Piedmont and exhorts him to continue. Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 202; *cf. ibid.* t. 11, nn. 119 *seq.*, the briefs to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, August 5, 1561, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See KARTTUNEN, 39 *seq.*; *cf.* ŠUSTA, I., 100.

⁵ See BALAN, VI., 510 *seq.* As is made clear in the Rivista stor., 1917, 47, the account in JALLA, Storia della riforma in Piemonte fino alla morte di Em. Filiberto (1517-1580), Florence 1915, is unfair to the Catholics.

different attitude of the Catholic powers, and when the Duke of Savoy prematurely disclosed the plan at the beginning of the following year. Pius IV. withdrew from the undertaking, which ever afterwards seemed to be impracticable.¹

Developments in Savoy continued to cause the Pope grave anxiety,² the more so as he feared that Filiberto's wife, Margaret of Valois, would apostatize from the Catholic faith. In a brief of January 30th, 1562, he urged the Duke to remove the heretical courtiers and ladies from his wife's suite.³ The Duke did all that he could to recover the fortresses occupied by the French, and he also sought to prevent the further spread of Calvinism by sending Catholic preachers at his own expense to the threatened districts, while Antonio Possevino did all he could to foster this missionary activity.⁴ He advised the Duke to remove all excuse for religious innovations by a reform of the secular and regular clergy, and even after some of the Waldensians had taken up arms, he still wished to rely upon gentle methods and organized a religious conference, which was, however, without result.⁵ The restrictive edicts issued by the Duke were not put into force, with the result that the pretensions of the Waldensians kept on increasing; at the synod of Angrogne in 1563 they declared that they accepted the teachings of the church of Geneva; they imagined that the Duke was afraid of them and so conspired freely with Geneva. Emanuele Filiberto, who looked upon this as high treason, took much more

¹ Cf. CRAMER, I., 61 *seq.*, 80 *seq.*, 86, 90 *seq.*; II., 54 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, 77 (in I., 86 the dispatch of Mula of February 14 [not 4, as in RANKE, I⁸, 211] is published).

² Cf. the *report of Mula of August 10, 1560 (Court Library, Vienna) and the *letter of Saraceni of August 26, 1561 (State Archives, Florence).

³ See ŠUSTA, II., 393 *seq.*

⁴ See ŠUSTA, II., 395; III., 269. Cf. CIBRARIO, Lettere, 196. The *brief to Fr. Bachodi, May 28, 1561, in Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 70, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ Cf. DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, (1904), 836 *seq.*

vigorous action against them in 1565 than he had done for the past five years.¹

The Waldensians in Calabria had been almost exterminated in a series of bloody battles by the Spanish government in the years 1560-61.² The cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards in Calabria were published far and wide by the French in a series of pamphlets.³

¹ See KARTTUNEN, 45 *seq.*; BALAN, VI., 589^o *seq.* At the beginning of his reign Pius IV., had made an arrangement with the Duke of Savoy that he should provide for the bishoprics of Piedmont, leaving the nomination to those of Savoy to the Duke. Filiberto did not keep to this, and there was a controversy over the appointments to Turin and Mondovì, which disturbed the Pope very much (see GIROL. SORANZO, 110; ŠUSTA, III., 555 *seq.*; CIBRABIO, *loc. cit.*, 198 *seq.*). Other difficulties also occurred with regard to ecclesiastical politics, as for example the question of jurisdiction in Val d'Aosta (see CLARETTA, *La successione di Eman. Filiberto*, Turin, 1884; *cf.* also FRIEDBERG, II., 705 *seq.*). On June 28, 1562, the Duke withdrew three decrees which were against ecclesiastical liberty (see RICOTTI, *Storia d. Monarchia Piemontese*, II.; MOROZZO, *Elogio del card. M. A. Bobbo*, Turin, 1799; *Bollett. stor. Subalpino*, VI., 257 *seq.*). If the relations between Savoy and Rome improved (see GIAC. SORANZO, 152 *seq.*), this was explained by the fact that in matters of importance the two powers were dependent on each other's help. But disagreements still continued. In a *brief of November 30, 1564, Pius IV. wrote to the chancellor of Savoy that he had heard that the bishops were unable to do anything against the heretics because they were hindered in various ways in the exercise of their powers, and begged him to co-operate in the removal of these hindrances when the bishops returned from the Council (Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 93, Papal Secret Archives).

² See BALAN, VI., 511 *seqq.* *Cf.* Arch. stor. Ital., IX., 193 *seq.*; AMABILE, I., 235-260; BERTOLOTTI, *Martiri*, 28 *seq.*; BENDER, *Gesch. der Waldenser*, 102, *cf.*, 157; *Realenzykl. of Herzog*, XX. ³, 836; DUHR, *loc. cit.*, 838 *seq.* A *brief of praise to the Viceroy of Naples for the help given by him to the Inquisition, in Arm. 44, t. 21, n. 47 (Papal Secret Archives). For the Waldensians at Amalfi see CAMERA, *Memorie d'Amalfi*, II., 134.

³ See the rare work *Copie d'autres nouvelles de Romme et autres choses memorables*, Lyons, 1561. For the Inquisition in Sicily see GARUFI in Arch. stor. Sicil., XLI. (1917).

CHAPTER X.

PIUS IV. AND PHILIP II.—THE TURKISH PERIL.

WHEN Pius IV. ascended the Papal throne, it was expected that the most cordial relations would exist between him and the King of Spain. Certainly the good-will was not lacking on the Pope's part ; as a Cardinal he had been a partisan of Spain, and in view of the state of European politics, his position as head of the Church pointed in the same direction on account of the grave dangers threatening the Catholic religion in Germany, England, Scotland, France and Poland. Philip II. seemed to be the only reliable defender of the old religion, since, on account of the weakness of the Empire, the duty of protecting the Holy See devolved upon the Catholic sovereign who had the greatest power.

On his side, Philip II. looked upon himself as the political head of Catholic Christendom.¹ The geographical position of his kingdom pointed to him as its defender against the followers of Islam, since it comprised the greater part of the Christian countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Personally a fervent Catholic, and deeply penetrated by the conviction that ecclesiastical changes must bring civil revolution in their train, the King of Spain watched strictly over the maintenance of Catholic unity in his dominions. The progress of Protestantism in England, France and western Germany affected him directly on account of his possessions in the Netherlands, where the Catholics looked to the Spanish king as their chief protector. Everything therefore combined to make Philip II. the champion of the Catholic Church, though his shortcomings affected her interests no less than his good qualities.

¹ See MARCKS, in *Philipp II.*, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, LXXIII., 205.

Very few princes have devoted themselves to the affairs of state so zealously, or taken their position as rulers so seriously as Philip II., whose natural autocracy was given a special character by the view he took of the heavy responsibilities which lay upon his shoulders. His unwearied assiduity at the council table would have been an excellent thing in the ruler of a small state, but in the case of a monarch who was master of half the world it could not fail to become a grave disadvantage, all the more so as it was united to a great want of decision. Instead of acting, Philip II. was for ever thinking things over, trying to gain time and to put off making a definite decision. His instinctive absolutism was shown in his mania for undertaking the personal direction of the smallest details of government throughout his dominions, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Not content with protecting, he wanted to rule the Church.¹ In this fact, as well as in the general development of politico-ecclesiastical conditions in Spain, was to be found the reason why the relations of the king with Pius IV. developed in a way so different from what had been expected.

Since the end of the Middle Ages the "Catholic Kings," by making skilful use of the conditions of the times, had aimed at obtaining a complete sovereignty over the Church in their dominions. While making a great parade of their Catholicism they had, by prayers and threats, wrung one concession after another from the Holy See.² After the Popes of the XVth

¹ Cf. GACHARD, *Corresp.*, I., liii. *seq.*; MARTIN A. S. HUME, *Philip II.*, London, 1897; HAEBLER in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXXXIV., 144 *seq.*; GAMS, III., 1, 192; FRIEDBERG, II., 542.

² See HERGENRÖTHER in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, X. (1863), 14 *seqq.*; PHILIPPSON, *Philipp II. und das Papsttum*, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 269 *seq.*; FRIEDBERG, II., 542 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*; GÖTHEIN, 37 *seqq.* Cf. also previous vols. of this work: IV., 397; V., 338; VI., 443; VIII., 435; X., 57, 370. DEMBIŃSKI, (I., 179) is quite right in saying that at that time Spain had in some ways succeeded in forming a church within the Church.

century had already granted them wide powers in the filling of the bishoprics, Charles V. had obtained the complete and permanent right of presentation and patronage in the case of all the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees of Spain. In the same way the Spanish government had succeeded in getting into its own hands the right of conferring the greater part of the other ecclesiastical benefices to which revenues were attached, as well as those of the great military orders. It had also, since 1476, exercised a wide supervision over ecclesiastical jurisdiction by means of the "royal council" of Castille. The crown lawyers appealed in this matter to the example of France, and indignantly rejected the idea that there was in this the least wish to infringe upon the authority of the Pope, which they professed to hold in the greatest reverence. This, however, did not prevent great liberties being taken. In spite of all the protests of Rome, the government held tenaciously to its claim to examine every Papal decree, and to pronounce it invalid for Spain if it infringed upon the laws and customs of the kingdom. It is true that all the external forms of respect were always observed, and that the procedure generally adopted was, by way of palliation, designated as the "holding back (*retención*) of Papal bulls." In order to reconcile the Spanish church to the state of servitude into which it had fallen, the kings had increased its wealth to such an extent that at the beginning of the reign of Philip II. the revenues of the clergy from their landed estates amounted to five million ducats, which was a half of the whole fixed revenue of the kingdom. Of the seven archbishoprics and the thirty-nine bishoprics the most wealthy was the archbishopric of Toledo, which in 1566 was valued at 400,000 ducats. Many of the bishops and prelates made good use of their princely revenues, though there were not wanting some who acted in quite a contrary way.¹

If the Spanish government had thus increased the riches of the Church its motive had been by no means disinterested,

¹ See the reports of Tiepolo and Soranzo in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 19, 79; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 279 *seq.*

for the goods of the Church served as an inexhaustible source of revenue. In order to levy these subsidies it was necessary, in accordance with canon law, to obtain the consent of the Pope, which was generally given, because in almost all the wars of Spain it was possible to plead the good of religion, but very often the sums raised were used for quite another purpose. This was especially the case with the large sums obtained in virtue of the bull of crusade (*Cruzada*) which was first granted by Julius II., and afterwards amplified in various ways.¹

In order to bring the clergy, especially the cathedral chapters and the religious orders, into subjection to the absolute power of the king, Philip II. made misuse of the Spanish Inquisition whenever they tried to defend ecclesiastical rights and their own privileges, nor did he hesitate to use it against the laity as well. Rome steadily opposed this abuse, but the kings of Spain successfully aimed at making this tribunal a docile tool by means of which they could efficaciously fight their political enemies and all the opponents of absolutism, while, since two-thirds of the fines and confiscations inflicted by the Inquisition went to the king, the tribunal was also a rich source of revenue ; in 1566 it paid over about 200,000 gold ducats.² It thus became very important for the Catholic Kings to extend to the other countries under their rule the extraordinary privileges which they possessed or claimed to possess in Spain. Julius II. had granted them the patronage of all the churches in the West Indies, and Clement VII. had done the same in the case of the bishoprics of the Kingdom of Naples. In all its Italian possessions the government exercised its right of examining, and if necessary "holding back" all Papal bulls, or the *exequatur*, as it was called in Naples and Sicily. The sovereign privileges claimed in Sicily, known by the

¹ See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, X., 10 ; PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 281 ; HINOJOSA, 178 ; ISTURIZ in *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1907, 388 *seq.* For the *Bula de la Cruzada* in general, *cf.* *Kirchenlexikon* of Freiburg II.², 1470 *seq.*

² See in *Corresp. dipl.*, I., 449 *seq.* the memorial of the beginning of 1566.

name of *Monarchia Sicula*, amounted to a real caesaro-papalism.¹

The Popes had repeatedly sought to limit this caesaro-papalism of the Catholic Kings, but they had always met with the most obstinate resistance. When Philip II. ascended the throne the long desired goal had been substantially attained ; the Church which was intended to be free had been humbled, and had become the obedient and docile servant of the crown. This unnatural state of things, which was so full of inconsistencies, was in direct contradiction to Catholic principles, and contained the seeds of endless quarrels with the Holy See. When Paul IV. had attempted to throw off the Spanish yoke in Italy, the struggle had been embittered by the usurpations of the Spanish government in purely ecclesiastical affairs.² The peace of Cave had done so little to remove the source of the trouble that a kind of secret warfare between the Curia and Spain still went on. The true state of affairs is clear from the instructions given in the spring of 1559 to the new nuncio in Spain, Salvatore Pacini, who was told to watch over ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the obedience of Spain to the Holy See, because the royal council had interfered in many ecclesiastical matters, and had gravely prejudiced the cause of

¹ See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* 3 *seq.* Cf. Vol. VI., of this work, p. 443. A pragmatic of August 30, 1561 forbade under strict penalties the publication of Papal decrees at Naples without the *exequatur* in writing (see GIANNONE, IV., 165 ; SCADUTO, *Stato e Chiesa nelle Sicilie*, Palermo, 1887, 208 ; PELUSO, *Il diritto di placitazione nelle due Sicilie*, Naples, 1898, 13). SCHÄFER (*Beiträge zur Gesch. des Span. Protestantismus und der Inquisition im 16. Jahrhundert I.*, Gütersloh, 1902, 227) has shown that after the suppression in 1560 of the two communities at Seville and Valladolid, which were very small, Protestantism did not spread in Spain. Those who were condemned later on were generally foreigners, e.g. the Frenchmen executed at Toledo in 1565. For the disputes between the Inquisition in Sicily with the Spanish viceroys, see GARUFI, in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, XLI. (1917), 3 *seq.*

² See Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 158.

ecclesiastical liberty.¹ The already dangerous state of affairs became worse when Philip II., not satisfied with his practically unlimited sovereignty over the Church in Spain, began to claim to have a decisive voice in the affairs of the whole Church. The result of the conclave encouraged him in this; he hoped that in the new Pope he had found a compliant instrument for the carrying out of his desires, since he had at one time been a Spanish subject, and had always lived on friendly terms with Spain. The Pope, however, was *a priori* little disposed to show such compliance either in important or in small matters.

The diplomatic correspondence between Madrid and Rome was therefore bound to become very difficult.² The Spanish nunciature, which, under Charles V., had played a very secondary part, in consequence of the importance of Philip II., both in European politics, and in the various interests of the Catholic Church, now became one of the most difficult, because Philip II. acted towards the Church in the same way as Louis XIV. a century later.

In order that his Spanish subjects should not have to undertake legal proceedings before the Roman courts, Charles V. had induced Paul III. to confer on the nuncio the same wide faculties as were given to a legate *a latere*. To safeguard jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, for the nuncio's tribunal was also a court of appeal, he was given an auditor to assist him.³ Instead of easing the situation this new arrangement became the source of endless difficulties. As the nuncios greatly misused their faculties in many ways, the Spanish government was before long very dissatisfied with the arrangement which it had itself made, and asked that a royal assessor

¹ See LAEMMER, Melet., 174 *seq.* and PIEPER, Die päpstl. Legaten und Nuntien, Münster, 1897, 209.

² During the short pontificate of Pius IV. no less than 16 nuncios and envoys extraordinary were appointed for the court of Spain. Cf. HINOJOSA, III-169; ŠUSTA, I., lxx. *seq.*

³ See HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, X., 29 *seq.*

should also be attached to the nuncio.¹ The negotiations carried on on the subject with the nuncio Pacini, who had been confirmed by Pius IV., remained without result until March, 1560, with the result that the Pope's representative had not yet succeeded in presenting his credentials.² On account of the opposition of Pius IV., the question of the appointment of an assessor was not raised again on the arrival of the new nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta,³ because other matters were for the moment nearer to Philip's heart, especially that of relief from his pressing financial difficulties. The Pope granted him, for three years, a renewal of the bull of crusade (*Cruzada*), which produced annually more than 350,000 ducats.⁴ Pius IV. was also sincerely desirous of doing all that lay in his power to meet the wishes of the one protector of the Catholic faith he could count on.⁵ But Philip II. was insatiable in his demands, as was clearly shown in the negotiations concerning his request to be allowed to levy a very large annual subsidy from the Spanish clergy for the preparation and maintenance of a fleet against the Turks. In a bull which was delivered in January, 1561, by the nuncio extraordinary, Gherio, the Pope granted the annual levy of 300,000 gold ducats for five years, under

¹ Cf. ISTURIZ in *Annuaire de l'univ. de Louvain*, 1907, 383 *seq.* For the greed of the Papal collectors in Spain see DESJARDINS, III., 411.

² See the report of P. Tiepolo in BROWN, VII., n. 125, and that of Seb. de l'Aubespine in PARIS, *Négot. rel. au règne de Francois II.* Paris, 1841, 292 *seq.*

³ See the accounts of Raverta of his first audience with Philip II. on April 1, 1560, in his *report, dated Toledo, May 22, 1560 (Ms. Ital., 6, p. 326b, Royal Library, Berlin).

⁴ The *bull, dated 1559 (Florentine style) V. Id. mart. A. I^o in Arch. S. Angelo, Arm. 5, caps. 3 (Papal Secret Archives); cf. BROWN, VII., n. 148.

⁵ See GIROL. SORANZO, 107. The strange proposal in the instructions for Brocardo Persico (ŠUSTA, I., 280) of uniting the crowns of France and England with that of Spain, was certainly made merely with the purpose of thus discovering the intentions of Philip II., an opinion with which Šusta is inclined to agree (I., 284).

certain conditions, and at the same time he refused the request which had been subsequently made for the sale of the great Spanish ecclesiastical fiefs. Philip II., without informing the nuncio, thereupon in February sent a courier to Rome with orders to reject the bull, and to obtain more favourable conditions. At the same time he brought great pressure to bear in other ways, especially in the matters of sending envoys to the Council, and of payments to the Pope's nephews, seeking in this way to make the Pope more yielding.¹ It was very difficult for the Pope to come to a decision, because other states as well, such as France, Venice, and Portugal, were seeking similar permission to levy subsidies from their clergy.² On account of the critical state of affairs in France the Pope decided to meet the wishes of the King of Spain, and in April, 1562, he sent a new bull, antedated March 4th, by which he increased the subsidy to 420,000 ducats and promised to extend the permission from five years to ten. The permission to sell the ecclesiastical fiefs was held over until after the closure of the Council.² The Spanish clergy

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 31, 85 *seq.*, 92, 172, 205 *seq.*, 258 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*

² See ŠUSTA, I., 284 *seq.* Pius IV. was on the best of terms with John III. of Portugal (*cf.* GIROL. SORANZO, 109 *seq.*; GIAC. SORANZO, 150). Since this sovereign always showed his Catholic sentiments, the Pope conferred many favours on him. Thus he named the Cardinal-Infante Henry legate *a latere*, and gave him the right to summon before himself all the trials pending before the bishops' courts for heresy, and also of reforming the clergy. From the reports in Corpo dipl. Portug., VIII.-IX., it is clear how favourable Pius IV. was to the Portuguese Inquisition, and how he granted to John III. even the right of taxing the clergy. *Cf.* also Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht, LIII. (1885), 35. Pius IV. also favoured the project of marrying Francesco Maria de' Medici to Joanna, the mother of the future King Sebastian of Portugal (*cf.* BROWN-BENTINCK, VII., nn. 241, 254, 285). In the autumn of 1561 John III. sent to Pius IV. some rare animals, including an elephant, for the gardens of the Belvedere; see Corpo dipl. Portug., IX., 400, 418 *seq.*

² See RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 186; ŠUSTA, II., 401, 423.

protested against the proposed retrospective effect of the bull of 1560.¹

Even now Philip II. was not entirely satisfied, although he had every reason to be so, since, according to Paolo Tiepolo, he received during 1563 750,000 ducats from the *Cruzada* and the *Sussidio*, which was entirely due to the good-will of Pius IV. How small, on the other hand, were the payments which were at last made to the Pope's nephews after long negotiations and deliberate delays!² According to a memorial drawn up in Rome after the death of Pius IV., the sum total of the ecclesiastical revenues accruing to Philip II. by Papal concession was 1,970,000 gold ducats a year!³

The representatives of the other states, especially the ambassador of Venice, saw with jealousy and envy the favours granted by the Pope to the King of Spain; Philip had only to make a request, they thought, to have it granted.⁴ But they were very much mistaken if they thought that Pius IV. had become a merely passive tool in the hands of the Spanish king. Philip II. himself ensured that this should not be the case, since the more compliant the Pope showed himself, the more did he increase his demands.⁵ Knowing full well that the sovereign of the Papal States, shut in as he was to the north and south by the Spanish power, was almost powerless politically, the ruler of the empire on which the sun never

¹ See ŠUSTA, III., 487.

² See P. Tiepolo in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 47; PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. und das Papstum, 292. *Mula refers to the gifts made by Pius IV. to Philip II. on October 19, 1560: "S. Stà apparecchia di mandare un presente al re cattolico d' una corona regia d' oro, adorna di gioie, d' una croce in cristallo con due candelieri della medesima materia e fattura, per adornamento d' un alture, et una tavola di pietre finissime, che fu di papa Giulio III., con un organo che fu del medesimo, un stocco che S. Stà benedirà, et 4 teste, uno che è di marmo bellissimo" (Court Library, Vienna). *Cf. Avviso di Roma of October 5, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 206^b, Vatican Library).

³ See Corresp. dipl., I., 453.

⁴ GIROL. SORANZO, 107.

⁵ See P. Tiepolo, *loc. cit.*; ŠUSTA, II., 477; III., 346.

set thought to retain the right that the Holy Father should be at his command in everything. He stood out against Pius IV. with all the pride and cruel harshness of his Spanish nature, and it must be admitted that the Pope in many ways went too far in his readiness to give way. With haughty self-assurance the king laid aside all the respect that he should have shown. The "overbearing contempt" which the royal council showed in its dealings with the Curia gave the impression that it looked upon the Pope as a mere Milanese prelate; the nuncios and other representatives of the Holy See were treated in Spain as though they were the envoys of a subject of the Spanish crown.¹ Difficulties were placed in the way of all the Pope's wishes, both in great and small matters, while at the same time fresh demands were always being made. Besides the sale of the ecclesiastical fiefs, which would have produced a million ducats, Spain asked for a levy upon all ecclesiastical goods, and the extension for a further five years of the subsidy for the fleet, and for its application to Naples and Milan as well.² Claims such as these, together with the whole attitude of Philip II., clearly showed the reverse of the medal, and what lay behind his frequently ostentatious zeal for the Catholic Church, namely, that he was deliberately trying to make it powerless and subservient to his own ends. The disagreements which were in consequence always occurring were bound at last to lead to an open rupture, a thing which, nevertheless, many shrewd observers thought to be impossible, in view of the mutual dependence of the two powers.³

If for a time a crisis was avoided this was due to the skilful conduct of affairs by Alessandro Crivelli, who had been appointed nuncio in Spain in November, 1561. By his appointment of this diplomatist Pius IV. had openly shown his good will towards Philip II., since Crivelli, who was a

¹ See the opinion of PHILIPPSON, *Westeuropa*, 87; Philipp II. und das Papsttum, 291 *seq.* Giac. Soranzo brings out the readiness to give way on the part of Pius IV., in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 93, and Girol. Soranzo the obstinacy of the Spanish cabinet (108 *seq.*).

² See GIAC. SORANZO, 149.

³ See GIROL. SORANZO, 108 *seq.*

Milanese by birth, was a loyal adherent of the Spanish cause, and was as prudent as he was retiring and conciliatory.¹

Philip II. had chosen a man of quite another character as his representative in Rome, in the person of Francisco Vargas, who was a true Castilian. Vargas had many great qualities, especially a wide experience of politics, and a deep knowledge of theology and canon law, but his haughty, arrogant and overbearing nature rendered him little fitted for diplomacy. He set no limits to his zeal for the cause of the Catholic King, and it was his maxim that he must make a show of Spanish ruthlessness on all occasions, or, as he put it, show his teeth to the Pope. Yet, in spite of all this, this ambitious man flattered himself with the idea that he would receive the purple!² With unwearied importunity he tried to make the head of the Church follow his advice in all things,³ thinking that this was the only safe course for the Pope to follow. In spite of his strictly ecclesiastical views, his indiscreet zeal often led him to do injury to the reverence due to the Pope, and to make use of very worldly methods in dealing with ecclesiastical matters. It may be added that he was a strong partisan of the Farnese. It is not surprising, therefore, that very strained relations existed between him and Pius IV. from the first. As early as May 1561 there had been violent scenes between them, and this happened again and again.⁴ On one occasion, in May, 1562, the Pope turned to Vargas in the presence of many persons and exclaimed that the only thing for him to do was to take up arms and fight the Holy See; that he wanted to lord it completely over the Pope and find fault with all he did; that His Majesty made no return of any kind for the

¹ See *Corresp. dipl.*, I., xxxiii. *seq.*

² See the excellent character sketch of Vargas given by CONSTANT, *Rapport*, 367 *seq.*, in which he has made use of many reports drawn from the archives of Simancas. Cf. also Vol. XV. of this work pp. 25, 37, 63 *seq.*

³ A striking example was his attempt to lay down for the Pope whom he should receive in audience. See **Avviso di Roma* of March 2, 1560 (Vatican Library).

⁴ See ŠUSTA, I., 301 *seq.*; CONSTANT, *Rapport*, 371.

benefits which were continually being bestowed upon the Catholic King.¹ Many times Pius IV. declared that he would not have anything more to do with Vargas, and asked Philip II. to put an end to a state of affairs which had become intolerable by recalling his ambassador. The king promised to do so, but kept on putting off the fulfilment of his promise. So long as the Council was sitting the presence of a man like Vargas in Rome seemed to him to be necessary, and it was not until the autumn of 1563 that Requesens was sent in his place.²

The attitude of Philip in the matter of the Council, the essential point of Catholic interest, had not been all that could be desired from the first.³ It now became of decisive importance to his relations with the Pope.⁴

In view of the sincerely Catholic sentiments of Philip II., his dilatory and even hostile attitude towards the opening of the ecumenical council, a thing which was absolutely necessary, can only be described as surprising. This attitude, like his failure to accept the Pope's proposals for a Catholic league, and for energetic action against the Queen of England, can only be explained by the painful anxiety of the Spanish monarch to avoid all warlike complications, to say nothing of the lamentable state of his finances. When the Council was at last assembled, the attitude taken up by none of the princes caused so much fear to the Pope as that of Philip II., whose representative in Rome was for ever trying to thwart the policy of the Curia.⁵ The way in which the king sought to

¹ See the report of Vargas of May 23, 1562 in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 429 *seq.*

² Vargas left Rome on October 12, 1563; see the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti of October 13, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cf. also CONSTANT, *Rapport*, 372 *seq.*, 376; ŠUSTA, I., 283, 313; II., 485 *seq.*; III., 390, 484.

³ ŠUSTA in *Mitteilungen des österr. Instituts*, XXX., 546. Cf. the complaints of Pius IV. of March, 1563, in *Legaz. di Serrestori*, 389 and ŠUSTA, III., 526 *seq.*

⁴ The Venetian orators bring this out repeatedly. See GIROL. SORANZO, 109; GIAC. SORANZO, 149.

⁵ See ŠUSTA, II., 400 and in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XXX., 546.

make use of the conduct of the bishops of his kingdom in questions of dogma in order to extort important concessions from the Holy See, gives a very painful impression. The favourable turn given to the relations between Madrid and Rome in May, 1563, did not last long, and were even made worse by the efforts of the Spanish government to delay the discussions of the Council as much as possible.¹ The Venetian orator, Girolamo Soranzo, openly says that in this they were only aiming at obtaining a lever to wring fresh concessions from the Pope, especially in matters of finance.² The same writer clearly shows how the tension became greater when the Pope decided in favour of France in the dispute about precedence. The disrespectful attitude of the court of Madrid, where the Pope was reviled as an irascible man of but little judgment, was in keeping with the recall of the Spanish ambassador. The Pope was deeply roused, and even allowed himself to be led into making open threats against Philip II.³ He had already spoken of recalling his nuncio in February, 1564, when Spanish influence was interfering with his sovereign rights in Rome.⁴ In addition to the former grievances fresh cause of offence was given by the delay of Philip in publishing the decrees of the Council in his dominions,⁵ and when the king at last did so, on July 19th, 1564, his love of caesarism led him to add a clause, as a consequence of which many of the most salutary decrees could not be put into force.⁶ With

¹ Cf. Vol. XV. of this work p. 358. The indignation of Pius IV. at the behaviour of Spain over the question of the Council was strongly expressed in his letter to Crivelli of October 30, 1563 (ŠUSTA, IV., 586 *seq.*). Cf. also the complaints of Pius IV. about Philip II. in the **report of Serristori of September 11, 1563 (State Archives, Florence).

² ALBÈRI, I., 5, 93 *seq.*

³ See *ibid.*, 94 *seq.* Cf. FORNERON, I., 189.

⁴ See Legaz. di Serristori, 407, 410, 414.

⁵ See the report of Requesens of July 6, 1564, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 564.

⁶ Cf. *supra* p. 106. Cf. GAMS, III., I, 188 *seq.*; (MIGNOT) Histoire de la réception du Conc. de Trente, I., Amsterdam, 1756, 25 *seq.*

regard to those decrees which ran counter to the *Monarchia Sicula* Philip retracted his own ordinance of July 19th, 1564, when the governor of Sicily raised objections to it.¹ The simultaneous recall of Requesens did not, it is true, lead to a complete rupture between Madrid and Rome, but the relations between the two courts became obviously more strained.

It was clearly seen how great the state of tension had become when, in the winter of 1564-65, the Turkish question became extremely threatening. All Europe was ringing with the news of the vast preparations being made by the Sultan, Sulieman.² For a long time it was uncertain where his attack would be made, but at last it became clear that he was planning a great stroke in the western Mediterranean. Malta was the gate by which the enemy hoped to break in; if this stronghold of the Knights of St. John were to fall, Sicily and the coasts of Italy would be in imminent peril.

Pius IV., who from the beginning of his pontificate had sought to secure the safety of Rome as well as of the coast of Italy,³ now redoubled his efforts.⁴ In a consistory on February 23rd, 1565, he spoke of the Turkish peril,⁵ and in that of April 13th he alluded to the activities of the commission which he had set up, composed of Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mula and Este. He then spoke at length of the Turkish war, enumerated the concessions which he had made to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, and to the Republic of Venice,

¹ See CARUSO, 260 *seq.*; SENTIS, *Monarchia Sicula*, 117.

² See CHARRIÈRE, II., 772, 777, 780.

³ Cf. *infra*, Chapter XII. For the Order of St. Stephen, founded in 1562, for the protection of the Mediterranean coasts, see REUMONT, *Toskana*, I., 234 *seq.*; RANKE, *Histor.-biogr. Studien*, Leipzig, 1877, 433; FRIO DA PISA in *La Lettura*, VII., (1912). For the Papal confirmation see *Esenzioni d. famiglia Castiglione*, Mantua, 1780, App. 2 and 12.

⁴ Cf. the **Avvisi di Roma* of March 31, April 14 and 28, and May 1, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 1, 3, 7bb., 12b. Vatican Library).

⁵ See **Acta consist. Cam.*, IX., 116 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

so that they might defend Christendom against the common enemy, and expressed the hope that Philip II. would in the end do his duty in this respect.¹ On May 18th prayers were ordered for the removal of the Turkish peril,² and on May 31st it was reported that a Turkish fleet of 150 ships, bearing heavy artillery and 30,000 men had appeared before Malta.³ The Pope had sent the Knights of St. John 10,000 ducats, but he had sent no troops because he thought that the defence of Malta belonged in the first instance to Philip II., whose father had given the island to the Knights, and who, on account of the nearness of the island to Sicily, was the party principally concerned. When the Knights asked for military help as well, Pius IV. sent them 600 men under the command of Pompeo Colonna.⁴ Ascanio della Corgna, who was set free from prison, also went to Malta.⁵

Under the supreme command of the Grand Master, Jean de la Valette, the Knights of St. John made so heroic a resistance that the Turks only succeeded in storming the small fort of St. Elmo (June 23rd).⁶ In spite of all their efforts the assailants

¹ See *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, (Cod. 40—G—13, Corsini Library, Rome).

² See *Acta consist. Cam., *loc. cit.*

³ *"Eodem die [ult. Maii] etiam venit pessimum novum ad urbem, qualiter classis Turcharum in Melitam insulam descenderat." *Diarium of L. Bondonus (Miscell. Arm. XII., 29, p. 382b, Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ *Acta consist. card. Gambarae, of June 8, 1565, *loc. cit.* Cf. also *Avviso di Roma of June 16, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 31, Vatican Library. See also VERTOT IV., 447).

⁵ *"Die 3 iulii ill^{mus} dominus Ascanius de Cornea fuit a carceribus liberatus et de arce S. Angeli. Et die 12 dicti mensis discessit ab Urbe Melitam versus ad instantiam Regis Catholici." Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 383 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁶ *"Die 11 dicti mensis allatum fuit novum quod Turcae maximo impetu aggressi sunt fortitium sancti Hermi et illud maximo conflictu expugnaverunt et omnes milites religionis ac omnes alios ibidem repertos trucidarant et ex ipsis Turcis perierant circa quinque millia." *Ibid.*

were unable to capture the other two fortresses of the harbour. As time went on their courage flagged more and more ; sickness reduced their numbers, and the fate of the siege was decided on September 7th, by the arrival of the Spanish fleet, whose sailing had been long delayed by the dilatoriness of Philip II., and the excessive caution of the timorous Viceroy of Sicily.¹ On September 11th the Turks gave the signal for the raising of the siege.²

This failure was a fresh inducement to the Sultan to restore the prestige of Turkish arms by resuming the war on land against Hungary. Here too Pius IV. contributed his share by giving 50,000 ducats ; half of this sum was sent in hard cash in August, and the other half was paid by Count Biglia, the new nuncio at the Imperial court, who left Rome at the end of September, and arrived in Vienna on October 17th. In the event of peace, or at least an armistice, not having been concluded with the Turks by the following spring, the

¹ Cf. MANFRONI, *Marina*, 431 *seq.*

² For the siege of Malta see VERTOT, IV., 461 *seq.*, 519 *seq.* ; HAMMER, III., 747 *seq.* ; ZINKEISEN, II., 898 *seq.* ; PRESCOTT, II., 221 ; FORNERON, I., 376 *seq.*, 381, 384 *seq.* ; CARLO SANMINIATELLI ZABARELLA, *L'assedio di Malta*, Turin, 1902 ; JORGA, III., 107 ; JURIAN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, *Les chevaliers de Malte et la marine de Philippe II.*, Paris, 1887. Numerous writings in prose and verse extolled the bravery of the Knights of St. John ; see the bibliography in [V. ARMANDO], *Il successo de L'Armata de Solimano Ottomano dell'impresa di Malta*. Poemetto, Turin, 1884, and in A. BOSELLI in *Archivum Melitense*, 1911. Among these must be numbered the Greek poem of Antonios Achelis recently published by H. Pernot, with a reprint of the excellent account by Gentil de Vendosmes (Paris, 1910). Cf. GERLAND in *Lit. Zentralblatt*, 1911, 695 *seq.*, and WEIGAND in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1912, 488 *seq.* See also BOSELLI in *Malta letter*, VIII., 87. A description of the siege of Malta which has certainly not so far been published is given by BARTH. GRYHIUS, *De expeditione classis Turcicae et melitae obsidione*, in Cod. Pal. 934 of the Vatican Library. In the "Galleria geografica" of the Vatican, on the right of the entrance, the siege of Malta is depicted opposite the battle of Lepanto.

Pope promised to place in the field 4,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.¹

Europe had awaited the result of the siege of Malta, which lasted for three months, in the greatest anxiety. The agitation in Rome had been very great, since at the end of May two Turkish vessels had appeared before Ostia, so much so that the city had been placed in a state of defence.² The relief at the end of the siege was therefore very great.³

The Spaniards, who had had no share in the danger of the Knights of St. John, but only in their success, claimed nevertheless to be hailed as the real victors. Pius IV., however, refused to allow this, and when he informed the Cardinals that the Turks had withdrawn from Malta, he remarked that this success was due to God and the bravery of the Knights. He made no mention of the Spanish help,⁴ and made no attempt to conceal the fact that he considered it quite insufficient.

¹ See *Avviso di Roma of August 11, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 64b, Vatican Library); *Acta consist. Cam. IX., on August 17, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); Venez. Depeschen, III., 303; SCHWARZ in Hist. Jahrb., XVIII., 393; STEINHERZ, IV., 456. HUBER, (IV., 225), makes Pius IV. contribute only 25,000 ducats.

² Description by Philip Camerarius; see Neues Lausitzisches Magazin, XLV.¹, 64.

³ The *Lettera del Gran Maestro della Religione de' cavalieri Gerosolimit. J. di Valetae a P. Pio IV., d.d. Malta, 1565, 11 September, in Cod. Ital. 171, p. 221b. *seq.* (State Library, Munich).

⁴ See the letter of P. Davila in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 629, and the *report of Camillo Luzzara dated Rome, September 22, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the celebration of the victory in Rome see PAGLIUCCHI, 147, and the *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1565, (Urb. 1040, p. 99, Vatican Library). *Ibid.*, 130 and 135 b. the *Avvisi di Roma of November 5 and 17, 1565, refer to the scheme of Pius IV. for securing the permanent safety of Malta. Cf. *Acta consist. Cam. IX. for August 22, 1565 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). It is necessary to inquire carefully into the question of the seriousness of the thoughts and plans of Pius IV. for a crusade, of which GIAC. SORANZO speaks (p. 145 *seq.*).

But however great his displeasure with Philip II. was, on account of the preponderance of Spain, and his experiences of the utter unreliability of the French government, he found himself, so as to avoid a complete rupture, constrained to treat the King of Spain with great consideration, that monarch who proudly called himself the Catholic King.¹ This came out once more in his treatment of the trial by the Inquisition of Bartolomè Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo, who had been imprisoned on August 22nd, 1559, on a charge of heresy.² The Inquisitor General, Fernando Valdés, was, like Philip II., convinced of the guilt of the accused. Philip had further a special political interest in the affair; by thus humiliating the primate of Spain he struck fear into the hearts of all the other bishops, and drove them into complete submission, while by the confiscation of the archbishop's revenues he received 800,000 ducats.³

The conduct of the trial resulted in a whole series of usurpations on the part of the Spanish government. The concession made by Paul IV. that the trial should take place in Spain, with the reservation to the Pope of the final sentence, was understood in Madrid as meaning that the whole affair was to be concluded in Spain. Pius IV. protested against this, and adhered to his point of view, but his representatives, Crivelli

¹ In a cypher *report of Alfonso Roselli to the Duke of Ferrara, dated Rome, September 26, 1565, it is stated: "Il papa circa il successo di Malta parla più tosto con manco honore di don Garcia di quello che vanno mettendo li suoi Spagnuoli in cielo, et in vero il papa, ove puo, mostra mala satisfattione del rè cattolico et de suoi ministri in publico et in privato, ma al fine la potenza è tale di questo rè in Italia che il papa con tutto ciò si vede che procede con molto rispetto poi al fine dubitando della potenza sua, ma in suo intresco non gli vuol bene et dice che è longa differenza da lui al padre suo et al governo dell' uno all' altro." (State Archives, Modena).

² See *supra* p. 318. LAUGWITZ, B. Carranza, Kempten, 1870; LEA, Inquisition of Spain, II.; FORNERON, I., 196 *seq.*

³ See PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. und das Papsttum, 293, 297. For Carranza's fault, if indeed it is possible to call it a fault, *cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 315.

and Odescalchi, met with insuperable difficulties. Philip II. remained deaf to the Pope's remonstrances; Borromeo repeatedly complained that there was no way of helping the archbishop unless they were prepared to come to a complete breach with Spain.¹ In a letter of August 15th, 1563, the king definitely refused, as being a violation of his sovereign rights, to send Carranza and the acts of the trial to Rome, as was requested both by the Pope and the Council.² When the Council was concluded he again set to work to do all in his power to prevent the transference of the imprisoned archbishop to Rome. By the advice of the Spanish Inquisition Philip II. asked the Pope to send judges to Spain. Pius IV. gave way even on this point,³ but chose men whose character was a guarantee of a just decision, namely, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, as legate *a latere*, Giovanni Aldobrandini as Auditor, the new nuncio, Giovan Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and the Franciscan, Felice da Montalto. This embassy, by means of which Borromeo hoped to secure the recall of Requesens from Rome, is the only instance in the whole history of Papal diplomacy in which three of its members were destined to ascend the throne of St. Peter.⁴

Philip II., who had always taken care to obtain his end under the outward appearances of great respect for the Holy See, showed the legates every sign of honour, but he asked that the Court of the Inquisition, on which the Papal envoys were merely to take their place as co-members, should pronounce the final sentence.⁵ This claim, which the legate was bound to refuse, was the result of the same idea of caesarism as had led to the sending of royal officials to the provincial councils. This new interference on the part of the king in ecclesiastical matters drew fresh complaints from Pius IV., and the Cardinal legate was charged on November 17th and 29th, 1565, to make strong protests and to demand the with-

¹ Cf. ŠUSTA, III., 75, 87 *seq.*, 304 *seq.*

² See Colección de docum. inéd., V., 447; LAUGWITZ, 77 *seq.*

³ See the remark of Borromeo in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 628.

⁴ Cf. *supra* p. 334.

⁵ See Corresp. dipl., I., 47 *seq.* Cf. LAUGWITZ, 86.

drawal of the order, but these instructions had not yet reached Boncompagni when the news of the Pope's death called him back to Rome for the conclave.¹

A little while before his death Pius IV. had bitterly complained to Cardinal Pacheco and Pedro de Avila, who had been sent as envoy extraordinary in July, 1565, of Philip II. and his ministers, saying that he had received worse treatment at their hands than had been shown to any of his predecessors by a Spanish sovereign. In stern words he declared that Philip II. wished to influence the decisions of the provincial councils by means of laymen, that he had assumed the right of interpreting even the Council of Trent, and even claimed to pronounce upon the publication of the pontifical bulls, briefs and decrees. Never before had the Pope so strongly condemned the caesarism of Philip II. "You in Spain," he exclaimed, "wish to be Pope, and to refer all things to the king," but "if the king intends to be king in Spain, I intend to be Pope in Rome."²

¹ See HINOJOSA, 162 *seq.*; Corresp. dipl., I., 30 *seq.*, 38 *seq.*

² See the report of Pacheco of November 30, 1565, in DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, I., 640 *seq.* The strong words of the Pope were quickly noted. An *Avviso di Roma of December 1, 1565 says that the Pope had replied to Pacheco "che non era bene che il Re volesse esser anco Papa et che era sopra il concilio, che poteva fare quello che le pareva." (Urb. 1040, p. 140b, Vatican Library). In Corresp. dipl., I., 443 *seq.* there is a list belonging to the beginning of 1565, of the offences against ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the civil power in Spain. Cf. *supra* 334.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES. THE CONSPIRACY OF ACCOLTI.—END OF THE PONTIFICATE.

THE great readiness to yield shown by Pius IV. to Philip II. was caused principally by the weakness of the Papal States.¹ Although they were of great importance in many respects, the temporal possessions of the Holy See had no sufficient means of defence against the great power of Spain, which shut them in both to the north and the south. The long frontier on the side of Naples was hardly fortified at all, and Pius IV. sought to remedy this defect by fortifying Anagni. To the north there was no *point d'appui* against the attack which might come from Milan, but which might also be undertaken by the Duke of Tuscany, who had become a power to be reckoned with since he had obtained possession of Siena. There was the further disadvantage that the territory of Cosimo, together with that of Urbino, cut the Papal States in half. Orvieto, which was almost impregnable on account of its position, was insufficiently fortified, and the same was true of Perugia, Ancona and Civitavecchia. Ravenna was only given adequate fortifications in the time of Pius IV.² Some of the inhabitants of the Papal States, such as those in the Romagna, Bologna, Perugia and Spoleto, had the reputation of possessing a great aptitude for war, but owing to the disconnected nature of their governments they

¹ The other possessions of the Holy See, Avignon and the isolated territory of Benevento, made no more difference to the independence of the Pope than the great fiefs of Naples, Urbino and Parma, which only recognized the sovereignty of the successor of St. Peter in name.

² Cf. MOCENIGO, 26 ; GIROL. SORANZO 86. For the fortification of Anagni and Ravenna, see *infra*, Chapter XII.

had no unity for military purposes. In 1560 Mocenigo said that the Papal States might put 25,000 soldiers in the field, but that all their capable commanders were in foreign pay ; while they could hardly provide 500 armed horsemen between them.¹

It had been seen, during the pontificate of Paul IV., how easily, under certain conditions, an enemy could advance to the very gates of Rome. This explains the anxious care of his successor to ensure at least the safety of the Eternal City from a surprise attack by the erection of extensive fortifications.² In spite of this the situation in 1563 was still such that the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, was of opinion that the Papal States were so weak that their sovereign could not and should not think of defending them except by peaceful means, since Paul IV. by his war had made it plain to all the world what a low estimate must be formed of their military power.³ The plans formed by Pius IV. in 1564 of reorganizing the Papal army were not carried into effect.⁴

Nevertheless, even though they but imperfectly fulfilled their primary purpose of safeguarding the liberty and independence of the Pope, the Papal States were of great value to the Holy See. After Venice they formed the most important power in Italy, so much so that by their means the Pope was able to bring efficacious pressure to bear upon the various governments of Italy, even in ecclesiastical matters, while apostasy from the Church was rendered very difficult for them.⁵

¹ MOCENIGO, 26 ; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 52 *seq.* For the warlike skill of the inhabitants of the Papal States, see the account in ORTENSIO LANDI, *Forcianae quaestiones*, Naples, 1586. Cf. BURCKHARDT, *Kultur der Renaissance*, II.¹⁰, 305. For Pius IV. and the army, see App. n. 36.

² See *infra*, Chapter XII.

³ See GIROL. SORANZO, 88 *seq.*

⁴ See the *report of Fr. Tonina of August 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁵ See *supra*, p. 342.

The territory belonging to the Popes as temporal sovereigns was divided into six administrative districts or legations; the Campagna of Rome, the Patrimony of St. Peter, Umbria (Perugia), the March of Ancona, the Romagna, and Bologna. In the Eternal City itself, the Pope's power was almost absolute, and Mocenigo describes the power of the Romans as a shadow.¹ A Cardinal legate administered each legation in the Pope's name, but the real ruler was his representative, called vice-legate or president. In the larger cities the Papal authority was represented by a governor, appointed by the vice-legate, or a *podestà* elected by the citizens and confirmed by the Pope. The smaller cities, which belonged as fiefs to baronial families, were administered by commissaries or vicars appointed by the vice-legate.²

The richest province was undoubtedly the fertile Romagna, with its dense and wealthy, but very restless population. It was the one district of Italy where the free peasant was still to be found. Bologna, situated in the fertile grassy plain between Reno and Savena, was the largest and most prosperous city, and had retained almost all the outward appearances of its former civic independence. In the other half of the Papal States, besides the barren mountain districts of the Appenines, the already desolate Campagna and the Pontine Marshes, there were also many fertile districts, as for example the neighbourhood of Ancona in the March, the plain of Foligno in Umbria, and the district round Viterbo in the Patrimony. The economic conditions, however, were by no means in keeping with the natural conditions, which were in many ways so promising. Some of the districts, like the March of Ancona, were only able to export corn in very good years; the production of wine was still very backward everywhere, and only supplied local needs; the Papal States could not compare with Tuscany in this respect, nor in the production of oil. Of the more than 40

¹ See MOCENIGO, 30. For Pius IV. and the administration of Rome, see RODOCANACHI, *Instit. commun.*, 266, 268, 273, 275.

² See MOCENIGO, 26 *seq.*; GIROL. SORANZO, 58 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 52 *seq.*

cities the more important were : in the Campagna, Anagni, Velletri and Terracina ; in the Patrimony, Viterbo, Orvieto and Civitavecchia ; in Umbria, Spoleto, Foligno and Perugia ; in the March of Ancona, Fermo, Ascoli, Macerata and Camerino ; in the Romagna, Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, Forli and Cesena ; in Bologna the city itself. As a port, Ancona was far more important than Civitavecchia.¹

Certain decrees made by Pius IV. concerning the notaries were very useful for the development of trade. It had been a great drawback that in the Papal States there had been scarcely any archives for the preservation of contracts and processes, and that very often the notaries lacked the requisite legal knowledge, and allowed infringements upon legal rights ; Pius IV. met this difficulty on October 6th, 1562, by renewing a decree of his predecessor, and at the same time placing the notariate in the charge of the Apostolic Camera ;² he also introduced a fixed scale of charges for the notaries.³ The retail dealers in the city of Rome were given a special tribunal for the settlement of their disputes, and their commercial books were given the status of public documents, as had already been ordered by Boniface IX. ;⁴ forged accounts were publicly burned to the sound of a trumpet on the Capitol, and the name of the forger publicly proclaimed. Debtors who tried to evade their liabilities by appealing to various legal exemptions could neither obtain nor avail themselves of such benefits unless they made themselves known to everyone by wearing a green hat.⁵ Pius IV. also set himself to the task of frustrating the tricks of the money-makers by the prevention of usurious interest.⁶

¹ See GIROL. SORANZO, 86 *seq.* ; ŠUSTA, *loc. cit.*

² See Bull. Rom., VII., 285 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 177 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 267 (February 5, 1564).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 145 (October 27, 1561).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 *seqq.* (s.d.). For the complicated money transactions of the traders of that time see the account of LAINEZ, *De usura variisque negotiis mercatorum*, in GRISAR, *Disput.*, II., 227-331. The craftiness of the merchants, says Lainez, has evolved so

As was the case in the other states of Italy, so in the States of the Church political economy limited itself to the regulation of prices and the prohibition of exports.¹ The absence of any stable form of administration caused much harm ;² each pontificate brought with it a complete change of officials, and the proverbially quick changes that took place in Rome at the court itself, after the election of a new Pope, found an echo in the provinces.³ Under the pressure of the discontent which had been aroused by the hardships occasioned by the previous administration, the new one was generally disinclined to carry on the system of its predecessor.

Pius IV. did not depart from the custom of previous Popes of filling the administrative offices with their own countrymen. Just as in the time of Clement VII. these had been filled by Florentines, and in that of Paul IV. by Neapolitans, so now they were given to Milanese. All competent observers lament the way in which the latter sought to enrich themselves, and the bad administration of justice, and especially the settlement of tedious legal processes by money payments.⁴ It was recognized, however, that Pius IV. was genuinely seeking to secure the safety of the Papal States by a series of enactments. The laws which had been made since the time of Pius II. against murderers and brigands were con-

many tricks (in order to escape the laws against usury) that it is difficult even to understand them, let alone to pass judgment on them (*ibid.* 228). Lainez advises that a Papal decision should be asked for in difficult cases (*ibid.* 227).

¹ Cf. Bull. Rom., VII., 376 *seq.* On the care shown by Pius IV. in times of scarcity see PANVINIUS, Vita Pii IV.; Cardinal Borromeo too worked to prevent the raising of prices of food ; see GIUSSANO, 17.

² Cf. ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 53 *seq.*, and I., 68.

³ With regard to this cf. the *Discorso della corte di Roma by Commendone quoted *supra* p. 58, n. 5.

⁴ See GIROL. SORANZO, 88 *seq.*; GIAC. SORANZO, 132, 138, 142.

firmed and strengthened,¹ and in order to fight this evil more vigorously, in 1564 Cardinal Mark Sittich was appointed Papal legate for the Marches,² though it was especially under his government that the evil consequences of the custom of escaping penalties by payments of money made themselves felt. Pius IV. had strictly prohibited duelling as early as November 13th, 1560; this decree referred primarily to the Papal States, but it also bound the civil authorities in general to take proceedings against this evil.³ By an edict of December 14th, 1564, the privilege possessed by certain confraternities of liberating a murderer from prison on Good Friday or some other fixed day was abrogated.⁴ It was especially enacted for Rome on February 18th, 1562, that the palaces of the Cardinals and foreign ambassadors should no longer afford sanctuary to a murderer from the officers of justice.⁵ In 1563 Pius IV. issued a proclamation against excessive luxury in Rome,⁶ and in 1564 and 1565 there were edicts against women and other persons of ill-fame, as well as against that deep-rooted plague-spot of the Eternal City, the vagrants.⁷

A very vital matter was the administration of the Papal finances, and especially the national debt.⁸ It was impossible

¹ See the constitutions of January 6, 1561, April 10 and October 8, 1562, and May 21, 1565 in Bull. Rom., VII., 102, 186, 187. *Ibid.*, 171 *seq.* a prohibition to carry fire-arms, of March 6, 1562; 2 "Bando" explaining this in *Editti 171, (Casanatense Library, Rome).

² *Consistorial decree of October 25, 1564 (Acta consist. card. Gambarae, Corsini Library, Rome, 40—G—13, p. 389 *seq.*).

³ Bull. Rom., VII., 83 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 334 *seq.* Pius IV. himself had granted a similar privilege on May 15, 1561; *cf. ibid.*, 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 166. Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 5.

⁶ See LODI in Pungolo della Domenica, Milan, 1884, July 20.

⁷ See the *Bandi of September 23, 1564 and May 28, 1565, in Editti, V., 60, p. 207 and 208 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁸ Cf. the statements of M. Michiel [1560] in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 12; MOCENIGO [1560], 27 *seq.*, 62; GIROL. SORANZO [1563], 86 *seq.*; GIAC. SORANZO [1565], 131 *seq.*, 147; P. TIEPOLO [1569], 174,

to think of placing the finances on a sound basis so long as the principle obtained of meeting the financial deficit by the so-called *Monti*, or state loans, by which certain definite imposts were made over to the whole body of subscribers. This system,¹ which entirely withdrew from the public treasury more than half the revenues of the state, was continued by Pius IV., who even set up two new *Monti*.² In addition to the already existing saleable offices, he established in 1560 a body of 375 *cavalieri di Pio*.³ The number of persons maintained by the revenues of the Apostolic See increased in his time to 3,645.⁴ According to the report of the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, in June, 1563,⁵ the greater part of the revenues was employed to satisfy the

whose notes in cypher, however, are not quite clear. Of recent writers see RANKE, *Päpste*, I.⁸, 271; REUMONT, III., 2, 594 *seq.*; ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 54 *seq.*, who was the first to make use of the State balance sheet of 1564 in Cod. ottob. 1888, of the Vatican Library, from which it is clear that the greater part of the taxes did not come to the Camera.

¹ Cf. Vol. X. of this work, p. 100, n. 4.

² See the accounts in *Cod. N.—II.—50 of the Chigi Library, Rome. Cf. PANVINIUS, *Vita Pii IV.*; MORONI, XL., 149 *seq.*; COPPI, *Finanze*, 4; CUPIS, 161.

³ See the **Avvisi di Roma* of March 23 and April 27, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 141, 151, Vatican Library). Cf. Arch. d. soc. Rom., IV., 266.

⁴ **Lista degli officii della corte Romana*, in Cod. N.—II.—50, Chigi Library, Rome, used by RANKE, *Päpste*, I.⁸, 271, and ŠUSTA, Pius IV., 56. Cf. GOTTLOB, *Aus der Camera Apost.*, Innsbruck, 1889, 251 *seq.*

⁵ GIROL. SORANZO, 86 *seq.*, ŠUSTA (Pius IV., 50, n. 1), in which he disagrees with Ranke and Brosch, doubts the statistics given by the Venetian reports, and that because the Venetians did not take sufficient pains in collecting them. Often the envoys repeat the same figures in quite a mechanical way. No one outside the *Tesoriere generale* was in a position to give the receipts of the *Dataria*, and the sums drawn from the various compositions, which were certainly kept secret. It is very doubtful whether, in view of the gaps in the archives, any special inquiry would throw much light upon the subject.

creditors of the state. The ordinary revenues, which were drawn from the customs of Rome, from the common taxes and imposts of the city and state, from the salt-mines of Comacchio and from the feudal payments, were estimated by Girolamo Soranzo at about 600,000 scudi, of which, however, the Pope only received such revenues as were not assignable to the creditors, or 200,000 scudi in all, which was hardly sufficient for the upkeep of the court, which cost about 70,000 scudi, for the pay of the Swiss Guard and the light cavalry, and for the salaries of the nuncios and the poorer Cardinals. The greater part of the extraordinary revenues had been furnished in the past by the Dataria, but this, under the strict regime of Paul IV., had only produced, according to the estimate of the not always reliable Soranzo, 6,000 scudi a month ; Pius IV. increased this to between 25,000 and 30,000 scudi, and again to 40,000 scudi, until the carrying out of the reform again lowered it to 8,000 scudi a month. By means of this the Pope met the deficit in the ordinary revenues, and provided for buildings, presents, and other expenses. In spite of the greatest economy,¹ it was only with great difficulty that the cost of the Council could be defrayed from the existing revenue, and when in addition to that, the defence of the Catholic religion in France and Savoy called for considerable financial help, Pius IV. found himself obliged to open out fresh sources of revenue.² First of all, in May, 1562, a fresh direct tax was laid upon the provinces and cities of the Papal States, which was to bring in 400,000 scudi, while a hearth-tax was also laid upon Rome and the neighbourhood. By this means and the heavy fines laid upon Cardinals Alfonso Carafa and del Monte, as well as by new state loans and the sale of offices, the annual receipts were raised to 900,000 scudi. The financial help of 50,000 scudi sent to the Emperor for the Turkish War in 1565, gave occasion to a fresh levy, which produced a further 400,000 scudi. In this way, during his six years' pontificate, Pius IV. raised about six million scudi. Of this sum, according

¹ See ŠUSTA, I., 53.

² Cf. SICKEL, Konzil, 309 *seq.*

to an estimate made at the time, a million was spent in extinguishing the debts of Paul IV., a million and a half on buildings and fortifications in Rome, Agnani, Civitavecchia and Ancona, 300,000 scudi on the reception and entertainment of princes, 600,000 on the Council of Trent, 300,000 on the defence of Avignon against the Huguenots, 50,000 in helping the French Catholics, and as much for the Emperor's war against the Turks. There remained a further large sum spent on presents, while a considerable sum passed into the hands of the nephews.¹ The treasurer, Donato Matteo Minale, also appropriated considerable sums.²

As was only to be expected, the searching demands made by Pius IV. upon the contributions of his subjects caused great irritation and deep discontent. The original popularity of the Pope was entirely lost throughout the Papal States.³ In July, 1562, pamphlets and broadsheets were spread in Rome in which he was denounced as a tyrant, who deserved death. Pius IV. then threatened to transfer his residence to Bologna, caused many arrests to be made, accumulated arms in his summer residence, the palace of S. Marco, and increased his guard.⁴ The disturbance reached its climax when, on

¹ See GIAC. SORANZO, 133. For the redistribution of the taxes in May, 1562, see FONTANA, III., 391, for the sums deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo by Pius IV., see *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 314 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*; PAGLIUCCHI, 143 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, St.-Ange, 164; for the coinage of Pius IV., see SERAFINI, I., 287 *seq.* For *Due scudi d' oro spettanti a Pio IV.*, cf. *Bullett. numism.*, 1882-1883.

² An inquiry into the case of Minale was therefore made under Pius V., which ended in his condemnation. See Vol. XVII. of this work.

³ See the *report of Romeo Foscarari, dated Rome, August 6, 1561, and that of Vincenzo Campegio, of December 17, 1561 (State Archives, Bologna).

⁴ Besides the reports of the Spanish and Imperial ambassdors in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, I., 447 *seq.*, and SICKEL, *Konzil*, 310 *seq.*, cf. *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, I., 394, and in App. nn. 25, 26, the interesting *reports of Fr. Tonina of July 29 and August 1, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

the second Sunday of August, 1652, a shot was fired from the street into the Hall of Consistories in the palace of S. Marco, where the Pope had been a short time before. It was said that the bullet had been found and that it was a case of an attempt upon the Pope's life.¹ The body-guard was increased and several persons were imprisoned; the Pope did not go out in public any longer, and troops were gathered in the city.² In the meantime fresh taxes were under consideration, in which, however, the Pope wished to spare the common people.³ The situation only became easier when, at the end of August, Marcantonio Colonna came to Rome; the Pope began again to appear in public,⁴ but he remained very nervous.⁵ At the beginning of January, 1564, it was rumoured that guards had been permanently stationed at four places in the Vatican for the protection of the Pope.⁶ How very necessary such pre-

¹ See the *report of Alessandro Grandi of August 5, 1562 (State Archives, Modena), and in App. n. 27, the *report of Tonina of August 5, 1562 (State Archives, Mantua). Cf. BONDONUS, 543; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 101.

² See the *reports of Tonina of August 8 and 12, 1562 (some of those imprisoned were in relations with the Huguenots!), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and that of *A. Grandi, of August 8, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

³ Cf. SICKEL, Konzil, 311.

⁴ *Letter of A. Grandi, dated Rome, August 29, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

⁵ For the inquiry upon G. A. Santori, opened in July, 1563, which, however, revealed no crime, see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVII., 337. The ambiguous remarks of Pius IV. in the consistory of December 30, 1563, refer to this; see POGIANI Epist., III., 383 *seq.*

⁶ See BONDONUS, 571 n. and the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti, of January 1, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The discontent of the Romans was increased by Pius IV.'s plan of going to Bologna, in which many people thought they detected all sorts of schemes on the part of the Pope and Cosimo I., who was aiming at the title of king (see SICKEL, Konzil, 426). With regard to this latter point *Tarregghetti reported from Rome on May 16, 1565: *" N.S. ha fatto scrivere in iure ad alcuni dottori et ciò è stato per vedere se si poteva crear Re di Toscana il duca di Firenze et per quali ragioni." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

cautions were made clear during the course of the same year.

In the December of 1564 the news spread in Rome that a conspiracy to kill the Pope had been discovered. Those who were better informed were careful not to speak of this unpleasant affair, but the people had no such scruples. It was only by degrees that the details became known.¹ The head of the conspirators was generally said to be Benedetto Accolti, the illegitimate son of the immoral Cardinal who had been so severely punished by Paul III., and had died in exile in 1549.² Benedetto Accolti, who had for a time lived at Geneva, had shown from his youth a great tendency to mental excitement and prophetic imaginations. He also knew how to infect other people with his ideas, such as Count Antonio di Canossa, Taddeo Manfredi, Giangiacomo Pelliccione, his nephew, Pietro Accolti, and Prospero de' Pittori. He succeeded in getting these people to believe that dreams and visions had made known to him that if Pius IV. were removed, by resignation or murder, he would be succeeded by a Pope who would be holy, angelic, and who would become the ruler of the whole world, and would satisfy the desires of all Christendom. It was Accolti's plan to present to Pius IV. a petition pointing out to him the necessity of his abdicating, and in the event of his refusal to kill him with a poisoned dagger. Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione were to assist him in this act, which he looked upon as a holy deed, and pleasing to God, while the other two, who had not been completely initiated into the criminal scheme, were to await results in the piazza of St. Peter's.

On the day appointed, Accolti, Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione, with daggers concealed about their persons,

¹ See the *reports of G. Tarregghetti dated Rome, December 20 and 24, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the account of P. Tiepolo (p. 194 *seq.*) based on the Venetian reports; *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Papal Secret Archives (see App. nn. 47, 48); the *report of Fr. Priorato, State Archives, Modena (see App. 43 and the documents *ibid.* nn. 40-42).

² Cf. Vol. XI. of this work, p. 310 *seq.*

presented themselves at the Vatican. Accolti presented his petition to the Pope, who was attending a sitting of the Segnatura, but at the very moment when he intended to strike his fatal blow, he was seized with such fear that he dared do nothing. The conspirators returned without having accomplished anything, and fell to quarrelling among themselves. Pelliccione, who feared lest the others should reveal the plot, decided to disclose the conspiracy, so as to save at any rate his own life. They were consequently all imprisoned, and an inquiry was immediately opened, which was begun in the prison of Tor di Nona, before the governor of the city, on December 14th, 1564, and lasted till January 5th, 1565.¹

The Pope, who had already informed the Cardinals of the

¹ The *original protocol of the trial in Arch. crim. Processi del sec. XVI. (1564), vol. 100 (State Archives, Rome) includes 262 sheets. It is headed as follows: "Repertorium constitutorum inferius annotatorum:

Ioannes Iacobus Pellicionus Ticinensis reus fol. 1 35 60 88

105 137.

Ioannes quondam Ioannis Petri Nursinus fol. 6 150.

Thadeus de Manfredis fol. 9 49 89 117 185 205 244.

Benedictus de Accoltis fol. 14 68 102 129 142 167 169 206
227 237 224 258.

Petrus quondam Adriani de Accoltis fol. 27 47 115 233
245.

Presbiter Oratius Cattarus de Urbino fol. 43 52.

Dominus Nicolaus Della Guardia Aprutinus fol. 56 247.

Prosper Francisci de Pettoribus fol. 63 149.

Elisabetta uxor Thadei Manfredi fol. 67.

Comes Antonius Canosius fol. 90 107 116 118 140 152 199
242 243 251.

Petrus Maronus spadarius fol. 101.

Eques Nicolaus Zololus fol. 119.

Petrus Paulus Angelinus fol. 126.

Alphonsus Bovius fol. 128.

Iulius Colanus de Accoltis fol. 189 222 236 246.

Elisabetta Agra fol. 220.

Petrus Ludovici Corsi fol. 222 249.

Honofrius Cominus fol. 248."

plot in the consistory of December 15th, 1564,¹ again spoke to them on the subject on January 6th, 1565, and again on the 19th, saying that some of the conspirators had resided at Geneva, but that there was no foundation for the wide-spread rumour that even some of the princes had had a share in the conspiracy. As far as he personally was concerned, he forgave the offenders, but that for the sake of example he must let justice take its course.² The execution of the conspirators was expected as early as January 10th.³ Francesco Priorato, the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, visited them on that day in the Castle of St. Angelo, whither they had been transferred from Tor di Nona. According to his account, Benedetto Accolti was a small, ugly man, of varied attainments, and by profession an astrologer. He made no secret that he believed that he had been inspired by God with the idea of killing Pius IV. Priorato further relates that Manfredi had been enamoured of the beautiful wife of Count Canossa, and had thus been won over to the conspiracy. Canossa himself told the envoy that on the very day of his imprisonment he had made up his mind to reveal the plot to the Pope; he had gone twice to the Vatican but had been unable to obtain an audience. Urged on by the devil and their wild imaginings, says Priorato, the delinquents had determined to kill the Pope, and said so openly: Accolti, who intended to use a poisoned dagger, seemed to him to be a madman on account of his wild prophecies.⁴

The depositions which Accolti and his companions made

¹ *Quaedam deinde de coniuratione per scelestos quosdam et amentes infimae sortis homines contra se inita dixit, quae cum in sequenti consistorio latius dixerit, hic omittenda censui. Acta consist. card. Gambarae (Corsini Library, Rome). 40—G—13.

² See *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 111b (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). Cf. GULIK-EUBEL, 41. See also the report of Arco in Venez. Depeschen, III., 291, n. 8, and *that of Fr. Priorato of January 6, 1565 (State Archives, Modena), see App. n. 44.

³ See in Appendix 45, the *letter of Fr. Priorato of January 10, 1565 (State Archives, Modena).

⁴ See *ibid.*

during the course of the inquiry, gave the same impression, but since torture was employed,¹ their statements are not of very much value. As to his object, Accolti said that he had intended to liberate Italy and the whole world from tyrants, beginning with the Pope. When he was asked who would then be the chosen people and who the angelic Pope, whose coming he prophesied, he replied that he would be a holy man, and an old man like the early Popes, and that he would be that Pope whom the Romans spoke of as "Papa angelico." He only wished to injure the reigning Pope in case of necessity, and with the help of the chosen people. Accolti also stated that he had told Canossa, Manfredi, Pietro Accolti and some others, but not Prospero de' Pittori, that he intended to go to Pius IV., and if the latter would not agree to his proposal, to kill him, not indeed as Pope, for as such he did not consider him, but as a private individual, and the enemy of Christ and the apostolic faith. Accolti confessed that he had taken the afore-said accomplices with him to the Vatican in order to carry out the attempt.² On the other hand he maintained most emphatically that he had initiated some persons of princely rank into his scheme.³ He spoke of the reading of Lutheran books, as well as of the account by Platina of the conspiracy of Porcaro to kill Nicholas V. as having given him the idea of killing Pius IV., and he particularly asserted that Pietro Accolti was urged to it by him.⁴

How filled with fear the Pope was is made clear by the fact that the guard in the Vatican was doubled, and that the only persons admitted to the antecamera were the Cardinals and ambassadors, and nobody else, not even the bishops.⁵

¹ See the *Acts of the trial, p. 24 (State Archives, Rome). Cf. the * letter of Fr. Priorato of December 30, 1564 (App. n. 43). and Venez. Depeschen, III., 292 a.

² See these depositions in App. nn. 40-42, from the *Atti processuali in the State Archives, Rome.

³ Cf. the *Atti processuali, *loc. cit.*, n. 25 and 261.

⁴ See his testimony in App. nn. 40-42.

⁵ *Per questa congiura si sono raddopiate le guardie in palazzo et le genti non ponno andare più nell' anticamera di N.S. come si

Pelliccione, who had revealed the conspiracy, was pardoned, and Pietro Accolti and Prospero de' Pittori were condemned to the galleys for life. Benedetto Accolti, Canossa and Manfredi, were handed over, as guilty of high treason, to the criminal court of the city, and were barbarously put to death on the Capitol on January 27th. The terrible scene struck even the brothers of the *misericordia* with horror, although they were well accustomed to such sights.¹ To the end Benedetto Accolti maintained the innocence of his nephew, Pietro, and he as well as his two companions resigned themselves to death, after having received the sacraments on the previous day.²

As is generally the case with conspiracies which are crushed before they come to a head, so in this case there still remains a good deal of doubt as to its objects. It is, however, undeniable that Benedetto Accolti was the originator of the murderous plan, and that it was he who had drawn the others into it. In a letter to his parents and relatives, written from the Castle of St. Angelo on January 25th,³ Canossa protests his innocence,

faceva di prima, eccetto che li cardinali et gli ambasciatori, et questo non è anco concesso alli vescovi. Reports Giac. Tarreghetti on January 6, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

¹ Besides the short *report of Giac. Tarreghetti, dated Rome, January 27, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which records the sentence of *galera perpetua* on the two lesser offenders, cf. the full description of L. Bondonus (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 47-48, and *ibid.* n. 46, the précis in the *book of the *Giustiziati* in the Archives of S. Giovanni Decollato (State Archives, Rome).

² See the *book of the *Giustiziati*, III., 306, 308b, *loc. cit.*

³ See the *text in App. nn. 40-42, III. (Corsini, Vatican, and Chigi Libraries, Rome). RANKE, (Päpste, I.⁸, 229) was the first to make use of this letter; he only knew, however, of the Corsini Library copy, and says that he has not found anywhere else the information contained in the letter, nor does he hesitate to build up his whole account of the conspiracy of Accolti on this one document. If such a proceeding is a dangerous one in any case, this applies even more to the general conclusions which he thinks he can draw from the letter. One can only feel surprise at the way in which Ranke, with categorical assurance makes the mad

and gives a detailed account of the way in which he had been misled by the fantastic ideas of Accolti. The latter had confided to him that he was in possession of a secret that had been made known to him by God, the truth of which he was visionary Accolti into a representative of Catholic reform, and this he does as definitely as though he were dealing with a scientifically demonstrated fact. He begins his narrative as follows: "The spirit which was showing itself in the strictly Catholic movement very soon became a dangerous one for the Pope; a certain Accolti, who was an extreme Catholic, came to Rome." In the course of the narrative Accolti is again described as "a fanatically Catholic man," and Ranke concludes as follows: "One can see what kind of spirit was at work in the deeply stirred life of the times. In spite of all that Pius IV. had done for the reconstruction of the Church, there were many who looked upon this as quite insufficient, and who were forming quite different plans." This account, which has been followed by almost all subsequent historians, calls for emphatic contradiction. Views such as those of Accolti may be looked for in vain among the champions of a strongly Catholic policy, apart from the fact that it never even entered the minds of anyone of that party to remove a worldly minded Pope by assassination. There are no grounds at all in Canossa's letter for the hypothesis put forward with such assurance by Ranke. The same holds good of the many other reports of the conspiracy, which I have collected and used in my own account. In so far as these are not yet published, one cannot blame Ranke for not having known of them, though one of these reports, that of the Venetian Tiepolo, was known to Ranke, since he frequently quotes it. It is all the more significant, therefore, that Ranke is silent as to what Tiepolo says about Accolti's conspiracy, including his statement that many people at that time thought that the conspiracy had been organized by the Protestants. This opinion was shared by many contemporaries, including Pius IV. himself, and met with more belief since Accolti had resided at Geneva. In spite of that, however, no reliable historian would venture to say, on the strength of such evidence, that Accolti was inspired by Protestantism; to do that much stronger proofs would be necessary. But on the other hand unprejudiced science must strongly protest when Ranke ascribes Accolti's attempt to the strict Catholic movement. It is very hard to form a definite judgment as to the real motives

willing to prove by passing unscathed through a burning pyre in the Piazza Navona, in the presence of learned theologians and all the people. He had depicted the future in eloquent words : the union of the Greek Church with Rome, the submission of the Turkish empire, the extirpation of all sects, and the rule of perfect justice under a holy Pope, the anointed of Christ, who would govern as a universal sovereign. Accolti had incited him to the attempt, and had promised him the reward of God and of the future Pope, if he would co-operate in opening the way for him by killing Pius IV., who was not a true Pope. Canossa claimed that he had at first resisted the criminal design, but had at last yielded, and had seen how Accolti, at the very moment when he was about to carry out the deed, had changed colour and had not dared to deliver the blow. He had then declared his intention of giving up the design. " As Pelliccione can testify, I have bitterly bewailed my folly, and have wished to make it known to the Pope that Accolti still adhered to his intentions. For that purpose I went twice to the Vatican, but could not obtain an audience. On my return I went to the house of Manfredi, and there I heard Accolti say that he intended to carry out his mission to the Pope on the following morning, " with good effect." He had then wished to return home, but had suffered himself to be detained for the night ; it had been his intention to go in the morning to the Vatican to reveal the whole thing to the Pope before the arrival of Accolti, when suddenly the police arrived to arrest Accolti and Manfredi, for debt, as it was

of Accolti and his companions. This is shown by the fact that even well-informed contemporaries, such as Pius IV. and Tiepolo, held quite different opinions. The confused religious utterances made use of by the conspirators, are sufficiently explained by the visionary prophecy of the *Pastor angelicus*. How far confusion of ideas can go in such cases may be seen, e.g. in the fact that the murderers of Galeazzo Maria Sforza prayed before their crime in the church of S. Stefano to the titular saint and heard mass before going out to commit the murder (*cf.* BURCKHARDT, *Renaissance*, I.¹⁰, 60 *seqq.*). Historical criticism is not called upon to give any sort of explanation of such acts of religious mania.

thought at first ; when he heard later that the arrest had been made on account of the projected murder, he had offered to appear before the governor of the city to prove his innocence, which he still maintained. He had not given his adherence to the scheme with a view to obtaining any advantages, but, misled by Accolti's eloquence, he had only wished to serve God. He therefore, on account of his simplicity, his whole behaviour, and the fact that he had not gone to the length of carrying out the murder, claimed that he was not guilty of death. He firmly believed that Pius IV. was the vicar of Christ, and hoped that he would pardon him on account of his repentance. In a postscript Canossa records the sentence of death which had been pronounced on the evening of January 25th, and says that he accepts it with Christian resignation, and that he was preparing himself for death in those sentiments.

One can only read these lines with deep compassion for the deluded man ; the others too deserve our compassion, for it is evident that their heads had been completely turned¹ by the still prevailing prophecy of the coming of an angelic Pope (*Pastor Angelicus*).²

Pius IV. and many others were of opinion that Accolti and his companions had been urged to the attempt by the Calvinists.³ This can hardly surprise us if we remember the serious fears of an invasion of Italy by the French Protestants⁴

¹ Such visionaries would to-day become a subject of study by alienists, but no one thought of such a thing then.

² For this prophecy see Vol. I of this work, 155 *seq.*

³ See the report of Arco of January 6, 1565, in Venez. Depeschen, III., 291, n. 8 ; *letters of Fr. Priorato of January 6 and 10, 1565 (State Archives, Modena) in App. nn. 44, 45 ; P. TIEPOLO, 195.

⁴ Cf. MOCENIGO, 63 and GIROL. SORANZO, 82. F. Tonina reports as to the fortification of Ravenna on May 5, 1563 : " *La principal causa di questa fortificatione è però giudicata essere per qualche timore che Sua Beatitudine habbia che questi oltramontani non se ne vengano di longo a Roma, et questo si cava da alcune parole che S. B^{ne} disse quando pransò a Campidoglio banchettata da Romano, da se stessa dicendo loro che non dubitassero degli Ugonotti che gli havrebbe tagliato il camino a mezzia

which had prevailed for some years past, especially when Accolti confessed that he had been in Geneva, and had read such Protestant books as the *Institutiones* of Calvin, and Luther's incitements to the murder of the Pope.¹ The Venetian ambassador, Tiepolo, was one of those who inclined to the opinion that the conspirators had been led to their scheme by criminal vainglory, and that they thought they could not better satisfy this than by washing their hands in the blood of a Pope.² In this way Accolti would have been numbered among those assassins of the time of the Renaissance,³ whose outrageous vainglory found expression in a truly demoniacal form.⁴

It was while the trial of Accolti and his companions was going on that Rome became the witness of the splendid marriage of one of the Pope's nephews. In May, 1563, Cardinal Mark Sittich had written to Count Hannibal von Hohenems, who was in disgrace,⁵ that the Pope would not even have his name mentioned, and that after the death of Federigo he did not want to have any relatives. Nevertheless Mark Sittich advised Hannibal to come to Rome, and at once pay his respects to the influential Cardinal Borromeo.⁶ The unceasing efforts of Mark Sittich to reconcile his brother to the Pope were at

strada et da altro che nuovamente disse questi dì mentre che si trovava in Belvedere per risposta al cardinale di Trento che gli disse: Padre Santo io dubito che un dì haveremo un stuolo di questi Ugonotti a Roma, et esso rispose, non dubitate che havemo già pensato alle provisioni" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the fear of an understanding with the Huguenots in Rome, see *supra*, p. 383, (report of August 12, 1562).

¹ See the *depositions of Accolti in App. nn. 40-42 (State Archives Rome).

² P. TIEPOLO, 194.

³ Some remarks in the *Sommario are a further proof of this; see App.

⁴ For this cf. Vol. III of this work, p. 100, and BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, I.¹⁰, 164 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. App. nn. 9, 10, 28.

⁶ *Letter of Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal von Hohenems, May 14, 1563, (Hohenems Archives).

last crowned with success. In spite of the serious blow of November, 1563, Pius IV. had not altogether given up his thoughts of the exaltation of his house. Thus the Hohenems were readmitted to his favour, and in July, 1564, the marriage of Hannibal to Virginia, the widow of Federigo Borromeo, was under consideration. This, however, did not come to pass, since it was found impossible to come to an agreement with the Duke of Urbino.¹ At length a plan for reconciling the Hohenems and the Borromei was found in the marriage of Hannibal with Ortensia, the half-sister of Charles Borromeo,² and on January 6th, 1565, the anniversary of the coronation of Pius IV., the insignia of Captain General of the Church were conferred on Hannibal, which was followed by his marriage to the thirteen-year-old Ortensia.³ When the fine weather had come, the marriage was celebrated in Bramante's cortile at the Vatican with a magnificent tourney.⁴

¹ See HILLIGER, 39. In addition to the sources cited there, cf. the *letter of Cardinal Mark Sittich to Hannibal, October 10, 1564 (Hohenems Archives).

² At the end of the year the marriage and the promotion of Hannibal were decided upon. "It is clear," reports Fr. Priorato on December 30, 1564, "that the Pope intends to go on promoting and honouring these *tedeschi*." (State Archives, Modena).

³ Besides SALA, III., 326, cf. the *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Miscell. Arm. XII., 29, p. 377b (Papal Secret Archives), the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti, dated Rome, January 6, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *report of Fr. Priorato of January 6, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). The *document for the appointment of Hannibal, dated January 5, 1565, in the Archives of the Museum Bregenz, n. 107; *ibid.*, n. 108, a *document of October 30, 1565, by which Pius IV. gives the Count full authority over all the troops, including the *ius gladii*.

⁴ Cf. L. BONDONUS, *Diarium, *loc. cit.*, p. 379b (Papal Secret Archives), and the full account of A. F. Cirni, printed in ALVERI, Rome, 1664, 143 seq., and also in the *nozze* publication *Narrazione del Torneo fatto nella corte di Belvedere*, ed. A. Betocchi, Rome, 1898. An illustration in the well-known engraving of Du Pérac. Cf. LETAROUILLY, Vatican, I., Belvedere, pl. 7; MAES, in Cracas, 1890, 354 seq., 585 seq., 631 seq.; CLEMENTI, 229, 232, 240; EHRLE, Pianta, 10.

A little later, on March 12th, 1565, there followed the long expected creation of new Cardinals. Immediately before the consistory, the Venetian ambassador had again vainly attempted to get the Patriarch of Aquileia, Grimani, included in the list of candidates which had been decided upon the previous evening. When the Cardinals had assembled, the Pope announced that he thought the time had come to recompense those who, during the Council or in other ways, had rendered faithful service to the Holy See. In reading out the list, which included 22 names, he added in each case the reason why each seemed worthy of the purple. The Cardinals, especially the older ones, were but little pleased with the new nominations, but none of them dared to say so openly. Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese joined with Morone and Simonetta in interceding on behalf of the distinguished Gabriele Paleotto, for whose promotion Borromeo also wished. Pius IV. included Paleotto in the list, but on the other hand the Archbishop of Otranto was excluded, because his complete justification before the Inquisition had been no more successful than that of Grimani.¹

With one exception, the Frenchman, Antoine de Créquy, all the 23 new Cardinals were Italians by birth; six of them came from Milan. Of these, Carlo Visconti and Francesco Abbondio Castiglione had rendered important service during the Council, Alessandro Crivelli had filled the difficult Spanish nunciature with so great ability that Philip II. himself had recommended his promotion. Francesco Alciati and Francesco Grasso had a great reputation as jurists; the former had been the master of Charles Borromeo, and the latter had won distinction as governor of Bologna. Also closely connected with Borromeo were the private secretary, Tolomeo Galli, who was a native of Como, the distinguished Guido Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, and the two natives of Bologna, Ugo Boncompagni and Gabriele Paleotto; they were all men of high character, and an ornament to the Sacred College by reason

¹ Cf. the *reports of Camillo Luzzara of March 12 and 14, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

of their learning. The same was equally the case with the Calabrian, Guglielmo Sirleto. The fact that the Neapolitan, Annibale Bozzuto, was included, is rather surprising, because he had once been secretary to Carlo Carafa. The Genoese, Benedetto Lomellini, had filled the same office with Cardinal Rebiba. Cosimo I. had interceded on behalf of the Florentine, Angelo Niccolini, the Duke of Savoy for Marcantonio Bobba, Catherine de' Medici for Prospero Santa Croce, and the Emperor for the ambitious Delfino. Among the new Cardinals, Giovanni Francesco Commendone was also a diplomatist, while Luigi Pisani, Bishop of Padua, who was a Venetian like Delfino and Commendone, had done good work at the Council, as had the Archbishop of Taranto, Marcantonio Colonna; the nomination of the jurist, Flavio Orsini, balanced the elevation of this scion of the celebrated Roman princely house. Alessandro Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, had done good service in the administration of the food supplies. Last of all there was Simone Pasqua, the Pope's physician, who was also a scholar of great repute.¹

However much personal ties between the new Cardinals and the Pope and Borromeo influenced the choice made at the great creation of Cardinals of March, 1565, it cannot be denied that on this occasion ecclesiastical interests were more taken into consideration than in the creations of 1561 and 1563, and it is beyond doubt that the credit for this is due to the strict Charles Borromeo.²

Borromeo had wished for a long time past personally to visit his diocese of Milan. When his desire was fulfilled in the autumn of 1565, his place at the secretariate of state was filled by Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems, who had been authorized by brief since January to discharge all the business of the Papal States;³ but this appointment only referred to current

¹ Cf. PETRAMELLERIUS, 74 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III., 945 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, V., 55 *seqq.*; HILLIGER, 42 *seq.*; HERRE, 89 *seq.* For Fl. Orsini, cf. SARNELLI, *Lettere eccles.*, Naples, 1686, 333 *seq.*; for Sforza, see GARAMPI, 293. Cf. also MOROZZO, *Elogio del card. M. A. Bobba*, Turin, 1799.

² See HERRE, 89 *seq.*

³ See HILLIGER, 39.

business, 'all more important decisions being kept until the return of Borromeo.¹

Cardinal Borromeo, who had been appointed legate for the whole of Italy on August 17th,² left Rome on September 1st at night, so as to avoid the customary ceremonial.³ He went by Viterbo to Florence, where he stayed from the 7th to the 9th, and was received with great honour by Cosimo. After a short stay in Bologna he reached his episcopal city on September 23rd.⁴ There on October 8th he received a visit from Morone.⁵ After he had held a provincial council,⁶ he went by the Pope's orders on November 6th to Trent, in order to escort into their new country the sisters of Maximilian II., one of whom was promised in marriage to the hereditary prince of Florence, and the other to the Duke of Ferrara. On his

¹ See the *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 78b, Vatican Library). Mark Sittich only affixed his signature, but T. Galli conducted the affairs; see TÖRNE, 84; Corresp. dipl., I., xxxviii.

² See the *letter of Serristori of August 17, 1565, (State Archives, Florence).

³ See the *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1565, *loc. cit.* C. Luzzara reports on September 1, 1565: *" Il s^t card^{le} Borromeo è partito questa mattina per Milano tanto per tempo che per un pezzo gli è convenuto camminare con le torcie, et il piacere con che va a questo viaggio è cosa che non si può imaginare. Il Papa per la sodisfatione grande di S. S. Ill. l' ha lasciato andare volentieri." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ For the journey to Milan see the *Diarium of L. Bondonus, Miscell. Arm. XII, 29, p. 387 (Papal Secret Archives) where (p. 392) the entry into Milan is also described. Cf. MERKLE, II., cxi., and the letter of Felice da Montalto in TACCONE GALUCCI, G. Sirleto, Rome, 1909, 16 *seq.* See also SALA, III., 361 *seq.*; Mitteil. des österr. Instit., III., 636, and the letter of Borromeo of September 23, 1565 in *San Carlo*, I., 116. On August 21, Borromeo wrote to Philip II. about the object of his journey. The reply of the king on September 25, 1565, is published in an Italian translation in *San Carlo*, I., 251.

⁵ See *Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 398b.

⁶ See *supra* p. 104.

way home he received news at Firenzuola in Tuscarry that his uncle was seriously ill. A second report was more reassuring, but the Cardinal nevertheless made his way as quickly as possible to Rome, in time to administer to the dying Pope the last consolations of religion.¹

Pius IV. had been very vigorous during the first years of his reign, in spite of his gout,² and he had not allowed his frequent attacks to interfere with his attention to business, nor with his activity.³ He also often suffered from catarrh, and during the spring of 1562 so seriously as to cause him grave anxiety,⁴ though he soon recovered.⁵ His anxieties in connexion with France and the Council, his periodical attacks of illness, and finally the death of Federigo in November, 1562, greatly taxed his strength.⁶ Although he was not feeling at all well, he

¹ See BASCAPÈ, 15-20; *Diarium of L. Bondonus, *loc. cit.*, p. 419. Two letters of Borromeo from Trent, of November 21 and 22, 1565, in SALA, III., 368 *seqq.* In a *letter from Rome on December 1, 1565, Cardinal Mark Sittich expresses to Borromeo the Pope's satisfaction at his activity (State Archives, Naples: C. Farnes. 737).

² Cf. Vol. XV. of this work, p. 87.

³ See SICKEL, Konzil, 226. In spite of his gout the Pope has good "ciera" Tonina *reports on June 21, 1561; on June 28; he has got to keep his bed (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). For the attack of gout in December, see ŠUSTA, I., 133, and the *report of Tonina of December 31, 1561 (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ See SICKEL, *loc. cit.*, 289; ŠUSTA, II., 409.

⁵ See *Avviso di Roma of March 14, 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 347, Vatican Library). The doctors spoke very pessimistically in June; see the *report of A. Grandi, dated Rome, June 24, 1562 (State Archives, Modena).

⁶ See *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 373b) concerning a *flusso* and fever. On June 24, 1562 Tonina *reports that the Pope seems to be attacked: "è travagliato assai dell'animo a quanto s'accorge non solo delle cose di Franza, ma pur anco da queste del concilio"; on July 2: the Pope is better, and eats five times in the day and again in the night; on November 28: his sorrow at the death of Federigo; on December 16: the Pope was carried to the consistory, as he could not walk on

insisted on celebrating the mass on Christmas Day.¹ In June, 1563, Girolamo Soranzo says in his reports that the gout had never troubled the Pope so much as it was doing then, and that as he would not spare himself the doctors were not without anxiety. He had not been able to move for four months. He was moreover suffering from catarrh, and there had also been symptoms of nephritis, though when he began to be more careful in his diet, the doctors began to hope that he might live for a long time.² When this report arrived in Venice the Pope was again suffering from gout,³ and at the end of November he had that dangerous attack which led the fathers of the Council to bring their deliberations to a rapid conclusion.⁴

The falling off in the mental elasticity of Pius IV., which is noticed by all correspondents at the end of 1563, was the result of his bad state of health,⁵ and not of his freedom from the anxieties of the Council.⁶ After the Epiphany account of the gout (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On December 12, 1562, Alf. Roselli wrote: "S. Stà è colerica et rotta per questo accidente del conte Federico et per li molti negotii fastidiosi che ha hora per le mani." (State Archives, Modena).

¹ *Report of Alf. Roselli, dated Rome, December 26, 1562, *ibid.*

² See GIROL. SORANZO, 73. For the suffering state of Pius IV., who often made mistakes in his diet, see the *reports of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, January 20, 27, and 29, February 17 (definite improvement), and March 3, 1563 (complete recovery), (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). If we can believe the account of P. Tiepolo (p. 181), which is manifestly inspired by dislike, Pius IV. afterwards observed the dietary precautions so little that his sudden death was not to be wondered at. The bad effect of his mistaken dietary told upon his gouty condition.

³ See the **reports of Tonina of June 9 and 24, July 14 and 17, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ See Vol. XV. of this work, p. 361.

⁵ See especially the *report of Alf. Roselli, dated Rome, December 18, 1563. (State Archives, Modena). See also the **reports of Serristori of December 8 and 18, 1563 and January 21, 1564 (State Archives, Florence).

⁶ Thus P. Tiepolo (p. 171 and 180) with evident bias. Cf. on the other hand Legaz. di Serristori 404, and the *report of Alf. Roselli of December 18, 1563, *loc. cit.*

of 1564, the Pope had completely recovered.¹ He was, however, filled with serious thoughts, and on February 8th he disposed of his private property ;² a little later he had another attack of gout, and again in March and June.³ These attacks recurred during 1565 in April and May, though the Pope was still able to carry out the Easter function, which lasted for five hours.⁴ At the beginning of May he was very preoccupied with the quarrels of his nephews,⁵ and at the end of June he had a severe attack of fever.⁶ Soon afterwards he felt so much better that Cardinal Borromeo was able to leave Rome with an easy mind on September 1st. Further attacks of gout followed during the autumn, but the sick man was still able to attend to his duties.⁷ In spite of this the idea was widespread among the people of Rome that the Pope would die in December.⁸ This conviction grew stronger when, on December 2nd, the first Sunday in Advent, the candle nearest to the Papal throne twice went out at mass for no explicable

¹ See the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti, January 8, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On January 26, 1564, Carlo Stuerdo *informed the Duke of Parma that the Pope was well, but was without appetite, *però travaglia assai* (State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 763). This disposes of the statement so often made that after the Council the Pope did no more work.

² See Studi e docum., XIV., 373 *seqq.*

³ See the *reports of Giac. Tarregghetti of February 16, March 15, and June 24, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 6 and 28, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 9, 12b, Vatican Library), and the *reports of Giac. Tarregghetti of May 12 and 19, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁵ See in App. the *report of Alf. Roselli of May 2, 1565 (State Archives, Modena).

⁶ See the *Avviso di Roma of June 30, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 36, Vatican Library).

⁷ See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 15 and 29, and October 13, 1565 (*ibid.*, p. 95, 103b, 117b, Vatican Library).

⁸ *Letter of Serristori from Rome, November 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence), and of *Bernardino Pia from Rome, November 24, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

reason.¹ On December 3rd the Pope had arranged for a sitting of the Segnatura as usual on the following day, but during the night he was attacked by catarrh, sickness, pains in his chest and fever. The doctors ordered him to bed but were not very anxious.² During the night between the 4th and 5th the sick man had three relapses, one so severe that his attendants thought him dead. Towards morning, however, there was an improvement.³ The Pope had mass said in his room and received Holy Communion with great devotion,⁴ after making his confession. Cardinal Borromeo had been at once informed of this unexpected illness, and all the necessary measures of security had been taken in the city in case the Pope should die. But soon there was a manifest change for the better, so much so that they hoped he would quite recover ; some of the doctors, however, were anxious, because the fever had greatly sapped the strength of the sixty-six year old man.⁵

¹ *Die 2^a decembris. In dominica prima adventus fuit missa in capella, absente Papa, quam celebravit rev^{mus} patriarcha Hierosolimitanus. Fuit sermo ut moris est. Eodem mane, dum missa celebrabatur, candela ultima a conru evangelii quae propinquior erat solio Pontificis, absque aliqua accidentali causa, a se ipsa bis extincta fuit, quinque aliis accensis permanentibus. Causam Deus scit ; sed malum omen ab omnibus iudicatum fuit. Attamen vox populi erat per multos dies antea, quod Pontifex in illo mense erat moriturus : quod pronosticum, cum ego essem Mediolani, a quodam nobili viro pro certo mihi dictum fuit et quod antequam ego Romam redirem Pontifex esset moriturus et quod ego non invenirem eum viventem. Diarium caerem. XII., 29, p. 420 (Papal Secret Archives).

² Cf. the *reports of Fr. Tosabezzo, dated Rome, December 4 and 7, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Avviso di Roma of December 9, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 148, Vatican Library).

³ See the **reports of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 5, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ Cornelius Firmanus in MERKLE, II., cxv.

⁵ See the *report of Serristori of December 5, 1565 (State Archives, Florence), as well as the *report of Girol. Oltramari of December 5, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). On December 6 Serristori *writes that it is believed that the Pope is out of danger (*loc. cit.*). For the doctors of Pius IV. see MARINI, I., 417 *seqq.*

Besides many other alarming symptoms, he was now suffering from colic and nephritis.¹

During the night between December 6th and 7th the Pope had another relapse, and the fever increased. It was rumoured in the city that he was already dead, and the scenes customary at a vacancy in the Holy See began. The sick man was not dead, but his end was fast approaching.² On December 8th the Cardinals were summoned, and with their consent the Pope made provision for some of them, and arranged money gifts for his nephews to the amount of 200,000 scudi.³ Cardinal Borromeo arrived during the night between December 8th and 9th, and the Pope rejoiced greatly at the coming of his faithful counsellor; in the morning the Cardinal gave him Holy Communion,⁴ and then administered Extreme Unction. When Morone told him that he had only a few more hours to live, the Pope replied: God's will be done; with the crucifix in his hands the Pius IV. died on the evening of December

¹ The Hofrat, v. Tschermak, to whom I submitted the accounts of the last illness of Pius IV., is of opinion that the sudden beginning, followed by the frequent relapses and fever, the sickness, the fainting, the pain in the chest (certainly too in the reins), and the retention of which many of the accounts speak, are quite in accordance with the description as nephritis, which was also accompanied by uremia.

² See the two *reports of Caligari to Commendone, of December 8, 1565, Lett. di princ. XXIII (Papal Secret Archives).

³ See the two **reports of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 7, 1565 (State Archives, Mantua), the *report of Girol. Oltramari of December 8, 1565 (State Archives, Modena), the *Avviso di Roma of December 9 *loc. cit.*, and the *reports of Serristori of December 7, 8, and 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence). Cf. GULIK-EUBEL, 41 and HILLIGER, 48 *seq.*

⁴ See the *report of Prospero d'Arco, dated Rome, December 9, 1565, (Archives, Innsbruck, Ambraser Akten); the *letter of Caligari to Commendone of December 9, 1565, *loc. cit.*; the *letter of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 9, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Here Tosabezzo reports that the doctors were saying that the Pope was *patientissimo et obedientissimo*.

9th, 1565.¹ The body was placed on a bier in the Pauline Chapel, and afterwards buried in St. Peter's. On December 11th the funeral offices were begun.²

In accordance with his instructions, the mortal remains of Pius IV. were removed on January 4th, 1583, to S. Maria degli Angeli.³ His very simple tomb stands on the left of the chapel, which now serves as the choir. The tablet for the inscription, which is adorned with marbles of various colours, is reminiscent of Michelangelo in the design of the cornices, brackets, scrolls, fillets and coats of arms; it must have been designed by an artist who had come under the influence of the master.⁴

¹ The death took place on the 9th (not the 10th, as stated by many) *hora 2 noctis*; see Cornelius Firmanus in GATTICUS, 447 (*cf.* MERKLE, II., cxv.) *letter of Serristori of December 9, 1565 (State Archives, Florence). For the last hours of Pius IV., see the letters of Borgia to F. Coster in SUAUI, *Fr. de Borgia*, II., 129. The Pope died *in cameris suis torvae Borgiae*; see *Acta consist.*, Cam., IX., 132 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). Giov. Amadori tells in his *report of December 19, 1565, how Pius IV. was able to speak to the end, and thanked Cardinal Paleotto for his spiritual help (State Archives, Modena). [RAYNALDUS, 1565, n. 28, states that Pius IV. was assisted at his death by two saints, Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri. *Ed.— note*].

² See C. Firmanus, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of Fr. Tosabezzo of December 10, 1565 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

³ See Mucantius in GATTICUS, 480. Besides the *Avvisi di Roma of July 28, 1582, and January 8, 1583 (Urb. 1050 and 1051, Vatican Library), *cf.* for the new tomb of Pius IV., the *report of the Mantuan ambassador Odescalchi of December 18, 1582: **“La sepultura di Pio IV., che il card. S. Giorgio [Altamps] ha fatto fare in S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme è finita et scoperta, la quale è reuscita assai bella.”* (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ See CIACONIUS, III., 882; MAI, *Spicil.*, IX., 364; FORCELLA, IX., 154; LANCIANI, III., 208; THODE, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, V., 241. Steinmann found a sketch for a larger monument for Pius IV. in the Dyce Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

If we try to sum up what had been accomplished by Pius IV. during his six years' pontificate, we find him to have been, apart from certain exceptions not surprising in one so changeable, a man who with great sagacity and skill took into consideration the requirements of the general conditions of his time, both political and religious, and one who, in spite of his studied moderation, was always careful to maintain the rights of the Holy See. His character, rather cold and averse to all extreme measures, was far better suited for the continuation of the Council than that of Paul IV., who was so self-assured and impulsive, though the fourth Pius lacked the imposing majesty of his predecessor. In spite of this, however, if we compare him with Paul IV., who only too often ruined wise measures by going to extremes, and who may be said to have looked for quarrels, while Pius IV. tried to avoid them at all costs, the latter stands out to advantage. On the other hand, Pius IV. suffers in the comparison with his holy successor, who may be described as the incarnation of Catholic reform in its highest and most ideal form. But although Pius IV. was so little imbued with the new ecclesiastical spirit, and had so many weaknesses, which were not to be found in Pius V., his pontificate is nevertheless of great importance in the history of Catholic reform.¹ It was he who reopened the Council of Trent, and brought it to its successful conclusion, although the difficulties which he had to overcome were enormous.² This was the outstanding and undeniable result of his pontificate, which in other respects was overshadowed by many dark clouds. In his determination to keep the control of the Council in his own hands, Pius IV. repeatedly interfered in its deliberations in a very personal way,³ though this does not take away from the wise moderation which also guided him in his relations with the Catholic princes. The new policy

¹ Cf. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., xxi. *seq.*

² See EDER, I., 33; REUMONT, III., 2, 557.

³ See STEINHERZ in *Mittel. des österr. Instit.*, XVII., 681; SICKEL, in the preface to ŠUSTA, Kurie, I., vii. *seq.* Here Sickel bases his decided opinion in favour of the complete liberty left to the Council upon the official edition of the Acta.

of the Holy See which he inaugurated in this matter became of great importance for the spread of the reform and the Catholic restoration. The results of his efforts in this direction, as well as those of his reforming activities, only came to maturity in later times. It is noteworthy that, in spite of all the worldly tendencies of Pius IV., the strict ways of Paul IV. were for the most part continued in his time.¹ The chief credit for this is due to his Secretary of State, Charles Borromeo, who worked wonders by his example. This man, to whose perfect disinterestedness, zeal for religion, and spotless purity even the coldest of his critics pay tribute, was to the end the good genius of Pius IV., and it was to him that the Pope's greatest triumphs were due.²

¹ See GIAC. SORANZO, 183; BASCHET, *Dipl. Venet.*, 192. In the time of Pius IV. several new dioceses were formed in missionary countries; e.g. a consistorial decree of June 27, 1561, forms Santiago in Chili, and Vera Paz in Mexico, and one of November 19, 1561, Yucatan, which was united to the diocese of Cocumel, which had existed since 1520. The episcopal see of Santa Marta was transferred to Santa Fè de Bogotà. Extracts from the consistorial acta concerning these in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, X., (1899) 339-341. Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 58. The Greeks in Italy were placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops by a brief of February 16, 1564 (*Editti, V., 10, Papal Secret Archives). For the relations of Pius IV. with the East see App. nn. 50-52.

² See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., xxi. *seq.* Cf. BENRATH in *Realenzyklop. of Herzog*, XV.³, 438.

CHAPTER XII.

PIUS IV. AND ART.—WORKS IN ROME.—THE VILLA PIA.—
ST. PETER'S.—DEATH OF MICHELANGELO.

OUR picture of Pius IV. would be incomplete without taking into consideration his relation to science and art. As had been the case with Paul III. his patronage of letters was far less important than his artistic interests.

That Pius IV. appreciated scientific and literary merit is shown by the liberal assistance which he bestowed upon writers,¹ as well as by his having conferred the purple on such

¹ An *Avviso di Roma of January 20, 1560 (Urb. 1039, p. 120, Vatican Library), already refers to the great liberality of Pius IV. towards the *litterati et poveri*. In February, 1560, Latini speaks of the favour shown to the humanists; see MASIUS, Briefe, 322. The Pope himself in a *brief of 1564 (Min. Brev. 20, n. 177, Papal Secret Archives) expresses his great appreciation of learned men. Cf. *ibid.*, 166, the *brief to Mattia Sittardus. Pius IV. gave effect to this appreciation among other things by the favour shown to Sperone Speroni, the celebrated orator and philosopher (see FLAMINI, 474; FRATI, Catal. dei Mss. d. Bibl. Marciana, I., 98; ZAMBETTI, Sp. Speroni, Lecce, 1913) and Gabriele Faerno (see RENAZZI, II., 215 *seq.*; FLAMINI, 117; REUMONT, III., 2, 693). The poet Luigi Tansillo owed it to Pius IV. that his name was expunged from the Index (BAUMGARTNER, Weltliteratur, IV., 330). Pompeo della Barba, who was summoned as a physician to Rome, was also distinguished as a man of letters (MAZZUCHELLI, II., 1, 236). Francesco Alciati, who was distinguished as a jurist, also came to Rome at the invitation of the Pope, where he obtained important offices, and eventually became a Cardinal (*ibid.*, I., 1, 372). For Panvinio and Pius IV. see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 415. For the preacher, Musso, who was much esteemed by Pius IV., see Mitteil. nes österr. Instit., vol. suppl. VI., 555 *seq.* Pius IV. expressed his own pleasure at the defence of religion made by the

men as Seripando, Hosius, Navagero, Marcantonio Colonna, Commendone, Paleotto, Francesco Alciati, Guglielmo Sirleto and Charles Borromeo. Many good Latinists were to be found among his private secretaries, such as Giulio Poggiani, Gian Battista Amalteo and Silvio Antoniano.¹ The latter was one of the principal members of the Accademia Vaticana founded by Cardinal Borromeo. From April 20th, 1562, the indefatigable Cardinal gathered together in this a chosen band of friends of like interests and common tastes, who met several times a week at the Vatican at a late hour in the evening, for academical discussions and for their mutual encouragement and instruction. This was Borromeo's recreation after his wearisome daily labours. Besides Silvio Antoniano, the following were to be found among their number : Francesco Alciati, Carlo Visconti, Guido Ferreri, Tolomeo Galli, Francesco Gonzaga, Agostino Valiero, who all received the purple in course of time ; besides these there were Ugo Boncompagni, the future Gregory XIII., Sperone Speroni, the Milanese, Pietro da Lonate, and the Count of Landriano. The literary gatherings of these men had something of the character of the Renaissance in so far that, in conformity with the ideas of the time, they assumed other names : Charles Borromeo was called *il Caos*, Galli *il Segreto*, and Speroni *il Nestore*. But their spirit was very different from that of the Roman academies of the time of Leo X., which, in the sources at which they drank, and the things which they lauded, paid homage to none but classical literature, and especially to Greek and Latin

learned G. Witzel in a *brief of December 7, 1660 (Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 436, Papal Secret Archives). For Pius IV. and the reform of the Calendar see RENAZZI, II., 224. From a remark in Spicil. Vatic. 80 *seq.*, it is clear how highly Pius IV. appreciated a discovery.

¹ Cf. TIRABOSCHI, VII., I, 26 ; MAZZUCHELLI, I., I, 858. For the work of Borromeo on behalf of the mathematician Girolamo Cardano, see Arch. stor. Ital. Series 5, XXXV., 425 *seq.* ; for his relations with the jurist Lodovico Settala, see FOGOLARI, Il Museo Settala, in Bollett. stor. d. Svizz. Ital. XXVIII., (1900) fasc. 3.

poetry. In the *Noctes Vaticanae* of Charles Borromeo, the study of profane literature also at first held the place of honour, but the spirit in which they treated it was altogether different from that of the age of the Renaissance. They strictly adhered to the point of view that ancient poetry and philosophy must receive their interpretation and sanction from the light of Christian truth. After 1563, the Accademia assumed a more and more theological character; discussions were held upon the eight beatitudes and the mysteries of the life of Christ, although they still continued to treat of profane matters. Science and faith went hand in hand.¹

Sperone Speroni dedicated the following beautiful verses to the new Accademia Vaticana :

Schiera gentil, che l'alto Vaticano,
Onde umilmente il tuo gran nome prendi,
Con sì chiaro valore orne e difendi,
Che invidia tenta ormai di armarsi invano :

Tu di ogni stato tuo sacro ed umano
Giusta ragione al cielo e al mondo rendi :
Tu sola forse intentamente attendi,
L'ombra lasciando, al vero onor sovrano.

Io, che sì poco amar solea me stesso,
Ben troppo altrui, io tuo padre in etade,
Ma nelle opre e nè premii inutil servo ;

¹ See SASSI, *Noctes Vatic. seu sermones habiti in academia a S. Carolo Borromeo Romae in palatio Vaticano instituta*, Milan 1784. Cf. RENAZZI, II., 221 *seq.* ; DEJOB, 17 ; TACCHI VENTURI, I., 108 *seq.* ; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., xxii. ; F. SPOLTE, *Zur Gesch. des hl. Karl Borromäus, Convivium noctium Vaticanarum Oppeln*, 1893, and the valuable monograph, which includes some unpublished sources, by L. BERRA : *L'Accademia delle notti Vaticane fondata S. Carlo Borromeo*, Rome, 1915 ; Charles Borromeo was also the protector of the Accademia degli affidati at Pavia ; see D. S. AMBROGIO, *Un marmo del card. S. Carlo Borromeo nel museo di Porta Giovia*, in *Riv. di scienze stor.*, V., Rome, 1908, fasc. 8-9.

Or vuò sempre adorarti, se da presso
 Già ti onorai, che la vita, che cade,
 Seco non trahe la mente, ove io ti servo.¹

How predominant in the literary patronage of Pius IV. were ecclesiastical interests was shown in his establishment of a private press, already projected by Paul IV., at the head of which was placed Paulus Manutius. This son of the celebrated Venetian printer, Aldus, was living in a state of great poverty at Padua, when the Pope summoned him to Rome in 1561, and assigned to him an annual salary of 720 gold scudi. His duties were to be the printing of editions of the Fathers of the Church and other ecclesiastical writers, a thing which was being urged by the Council. Paulus Manutius opened his press as early as the summer of 1561, and the city of Rome was to contribute to its upkeep. He attracted celebrated scholars to act as editors, such as Sirleto, Faerno, Latino Latini, etc.² Pius IV. ordered in several briefs that Paulus Manutius was to choose in the first instance such Latin and Greek works of ecclesiastical writers as were suited to bring out clearly the truth of Catholic dogmas, in answer to the attacks of the religious innovators, and that he was to take into consideration not only such works as had been imperfectly published, but also those that had not been published at all. The principal source was found in the codices of the Vatican Library, for the completion of which, in May, 1563, and again in the August of the same year, envoys were sent to Sicily to search the libraries there. The results of these researches were to be referred to the learned Cardinal Mula, who was the head

¹ Opere di Sp. Speroni, IV., Venice, 1740, 374 *seq.*

² Cf. POGIANI, Epist.. I., 329 *seq.*, n. ; II., 273 *seq.* ; RENAZZI, II., 205 ; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 115 *seq.* ; NOLHAC in Mél. d'archéol., III., 267 *seq.* (with further bibliographical references) ; BELTRAMI, La tipografia Romana diretta da P.M., Florence, 1877 ; FUMAGALLI, Lexicon typogr. Italiae, Florence, 1905, 346 *seq.*, 476. Cf. also *supra* p. 35. As early as September 26, 1561, P. Manutius became an honorary citizen of Rome ; see GREGOROVIVS, Kleine Schriften, I., 316.

of the commission set up by Pius IV. for the publication of such works as were called for by the times.¹ Mariano Vittori, who was well known for his writings against the new religion, undertook, by the order of the Pope, an excellent new edition of the works of St. Jerome.²

Pius IV. on several occasions added to the Vatican Library by purchase, and after the death of Alfonso Carafa Mula became its librarian.³ On January 8th, 1562, the Pope created the office of corrector of the Greek codices.⁴

The first place among the learned men employed by Pius IV. was taken by Guglielmo Sirleto.⁵ This man, who was as distinguished for his vast erudition as for his modesty and piety, lived in the convent of the Theatines on the Quirinal. By his many letters and counsels he exercised a great influence upon the deliberations of the Council, and provided the theological matter for the legates.⁶ When the Council was drawing to an end, Seripando was able to write to him that he had done them better service in Rome and given them more help than if fifty prelates had been sent to Trent.⁷ He was

¹ See in App. nn. 30, 31, the *briefs of May 22 and 26, and August 26, 1563 (Papal Secret Archives).

² See HURTER, *Nomenclator*, I., 32, and the excellent monograph of A. SACHETTI SASSETTI: *La vita e gli scritti di M. Vittori*, Rieti, 1917.

³ See TIRABOSCHI, VII., I, 179; *Serapeum*, 1846, 256, 295 seq. For those employed cf. Mitteil. des österr. Instit., XIV., 586 seq. The edict of May 15, 1565, issued by order of Pius IV., and published from the Chigi Library by CUGNONI in *La Scuola Rom.* IV., (1886), 288 seq., has to do with the preservation of codices.

⁴ *Motuproprio con cui Pio IV. erige l'uffizio del correttore dei libri greci, dated January 8, 1562 (State Archives, Rome).

⁵ A biography of Sirleto, for which there is plentiful material at the Vatican, is still wanting. Some information about him in TACCONI GALLUCCI, *Monografia del card. G. Sirleto*, Rome, 1909. Cf. also *Anecd. litt.*, IV., 328 seq., 369 seq.

⁶ Cf. especially *Cod. Vat. 6179 and 6189 (Vatican Library).

⁷ See TACCONI GALLUCCI, 56.

also highly esteemed by Borromeo.¹ The distinguished Silvio Antoniano,² who preached the funeral oration of Pius IV., was also high in the esteem of both the Pope and the Cardinal.³

Intended at first to meet a purely practical need, though it afterwards proved to be of the highest importance for historical science, was the attempt of Borromeo to form regular archives for the secretariate of state.⁴ It is a thing deserving of our highest admiration that, in the midst of the many and exacting duties which occupied his attention, the Cardinal found time to give his attention to the proper preservation of the current archival documents. By his advice and that of others, Pius IV. first ordered the formation of the consistorial archives, and by a brief of June 15th, 1565, charged Cardinal Mula, who had had experience of such work in Venice, to set up a central archivium for the Vatican. Connected with this was the resumption of the transference of the archives from Avignon, which was continued later on by Pius V.⁵

From the very beginning of his reign Pius IV. turned his attention to the revival of the Roman University.⁶ He

¹ For the letters of Borromeo to Sirleto see *La scuola catt.*, 1910, Mar.

² Besides the monograph cited in the following note, *cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 858; RENAZZI, II., 198 *seq.*, and CARBONERA, Silvio Antoniano o un pedagogista della riforma cattolica, Sondrio, 1902.

³ Silvii Antoniani card. Vita a IOSEPHO CASTALIONE et eiusdem Silvii orationes XIII., Rome, 1610, 113 *seq.*

⁴ DUDIK, *Iter Roman.*, II., Vienna, 1855, 21. PALMIERI, *Ad Vatic. Archivi Rom. Pontif. Regesta manu ductio*, Rome, 1884, xxiii. *seq.* *Regesta Clementis V.*, Praef., p. lii. *Studi e docum.*, VIII. (1887), 12. See *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., (1905), 524; MERKLE, I., xix; II., lxxv. *seq.*

⁵ See DUDIK, *loc. cit.*, 21; SICKEL, *Berichte*, I., 13, 16; MÜNTZ, *La Bibl. du Vatican*, Paris, 1886, 115 *seq.*

⁶ Mula *reports on June 26, 1560: "Nell' ultima congregatione si parlò di risecar le spese superflue e si diede carico a dieci cardinali si che si procurasse di riformare qui un studio di lettere in diverse professioni" (*Arm.* 3, t. 24, p. 71, Papal Secret Archives).

interested himself in its revenues,¹ its new buildings, and above all in obtaining for it new professors, the number of whom was increased in 1561 to 24, and in 1563 to 34.² Among the new appointments may be named Girolamo Vielmo, Girolamo Politi, Girolamo Parisetti, Marcantonio Mureto and Silvio Antoniano, who in 1564 became the coadjutor of the rector, Camillo Peruschi.³ The new building, which Pius IV. provided for by the creation of the *Monte dello studio*, was entrusted to Pirro Ligorio.⁴ In the Papal States Ancona was given a university in 1562;⁵ and the establishment of another at Douai was provided for by a bull of January 6th, 1560.⁶ Philip II. established one at Dôle in 1561 in response to the appeal of Pius IV.⁷ The University of Bologna, when it had been "reformed, and almost refounded" by Cardinal Borromeo, who was legate of the city, had its former privileges confirmed.⁸

¹ See RENAZZI, II., 136.

² See *Cod. H.—III.—62, Chigi Library, Rome. Fr. Tonina *reports from Rome on November 29, 1561: "È gionto anco qui, non hieri l' altro, l'Imola dottore in leggi, qual leggeva a Padova, condotto da S. B^{ne} perchè lega quì, con animo che essa ha di voler far bello questo studio, et di voler far venire de valent' huomini per lettori" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

³ See RENAZZI, II., 137, 156, 169 *seq.*, 175, 181 *seq.*, 198 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵ See Arch. stor. per le Marche e l'Umbria, I. (1884), 230 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*

⁶ The bull (DUTHILLOEUL, De l'université de Douai, Douai, 1855, 29) reproduces the brief of Paul IV., the real founder; see LEMAN, Paul IV., et la fondation de l'université de Douai, Lille, 1912, 10.

⁷ See WEISS, Papiers de Granvelle, VIII., 529.

⁸ See Bull. Rom., VII., 254 *seq.* Cf. CIACONIUS, III., 874. The vicelegate of Bologna, Donato Cesi, summoned such men as Carlo Sigonio, Giov. Angelo Papio, and put an end to the trial which had been set on foot against the young Tasso on account of a pasquinade; see GUALANDI, Processo fatto in Bologna, 1564, a T. Tasso, Bologna, 1862; Arch. stor. Ital., N.S., XV. (1862), 456 *seq.* For the University of Perugia, see RIZZATI, Perugia,

Among the works dedicated to Pius IV.¹ the most noteworthy is that of Lodovico Parisetti the younger, in which, in 1560, he publicly submitted to the Pope his desires and suggestions for the reform of the Church.² The work consists of a series of letters composed in elegant Latin. The papacy is instituted, says Parisetti, for the honour of God, and the salvation of mankind; it is not instituted for the sake of the

Bologna, 1911, 150. For a favour granted to a German university, see WEGELE, Univ. Würzburg, II., 52 *seq.* For Duisburg, see Rom. Quartalschrift, XXIII., 62 *seq.* Cf. also in this connection the *brief for the *Rector et universitas Friburgi*, dated August 23, 1560: it recommends the *Studium*, granted in *conventu Adelhausen O.P.* in Freiburg. Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 296; cf. n. 297 *episc. Constant D. ut s.* (Papal Secret Archives).

¹ Some dedications are recorded in CIACONIUS, III., 882. For the lives of the Popes of Platina, see Vol. XV. of this work, p. 416. NOLHAC (Bibl. Orsini, 160) gives a Greek poem by Matt. Devaris, and RENAZZI (II., 193) a work on medicine. There is also the *Ode to Pius IV. by Ippolito Capilupi in Cod. Regin. 2019, p. 148 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Cod. XXIX., 176 of the Barberini Library contains a poem: *Vellus aureum divi Pio IV. Ioannes Henrici Cornel. Agrippae fil. d.d. In the *brief to Girolamo Roth dated May 26, 1561, it states: "Opusculum tuum grato animo accepimus." We send you 100 aureos (Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 66, Papal Secret Archives). The work of Roth von Schreckenstein (cf. K. H. FRHR. VON ROTH-SCHRECKENSTEIN, H. Roth v. Sch., Karlsruhe, 1879) is entitled: *De veritate, firmamento et stabilitate donationis Constantinianae ad S. Pium IIII. P.M., Dillingen (s.a.)*. The dedication states: "Ita dilucide negotium tractabo ut luce meridiana clarius pateat, eandem [donat. Constant.] et factam et validam!" It may here be recorded that the *Lettere di principi*, which are so important to the historian, were also dedicated to Cardinal Borromeo in 1561. For the efforts of Borromeo for the publication of the reports from the new world of the missions of the Jesuits, see in App. 36 the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² *Iunioris Ludovici Pariseti Regiensis epistolarum ad Pium IIII. Pontif. Max. libri III.*, Bologna (apud Alex. Benaccium) 1560. No doubt on account of its great rarity this work has hitherto been entirely disregarded.

Pope, but rather the contrary, and no one will have to render a more rigorous account before the tribunal of God than the vicar of Christ. Parisetti recommends, as one of the principal means for the reform of the Church, the assembly of a Council, on the ground that one had always been summoned to meet the Church's greatest difficulties. This Council should principally turn its attention to seeing that suitable bishops were appointed, this being a thing of greater importance to reform than the making of many laws ; but the bishops, for their part, must devote themselves to their office, and not mix themselves up in other matters. The system of commendams is a cancer upon the religious orders, which has brought it to pass that many monasteries in Rome and elsewhere are empty. As for the Pope himself, he must take the exhortations of the Council as applying to himself, and not alter its decrees at his own caprice ; he must try to win the hearts of his subjects and exercise his office in a spirit of charity. He must not admit persons of worldly views to ecclesiastical offices, nor such as scheme to obtain them ; above all he must keep far from simony, nor tolerate it in others. Parisetti speaks in very plain words of the abuses which had hitherto prevailed at the Papal court ; the sins of the Popes and the bishops had had their share in the blame for the religious disruption. He had himself been scandalized during his stay in Rome by the worldly ostentation and the excessive luxury of the Papal court.¹

This work is noteworthy as a sign of the times, and it is at the same time to the honour of Pius IV. that anyone should so freely have dared to give expression to such grave truths in a book dedicated to him.

¹ When he was called to an audience, Parisetti goes on to say, they kept him waiting in the antecamera while musicians and buffoons were admitted. This certainly refers to the time of Julius III. (see Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 64). In his other complaints Parisetti has the pontificate of Paul IV. in mind : e.g. when he pillories the evils of nepotism, or when he says that after the election many people became quite different from what they had been before, or when he claims to have seen for himself in recent times how unsuitable explosions of anger are in a Pope.

The patronage given to art by Pius IV. is much more important than that given by him to letters. What had been prevented in the time of his predecessor by the war with Spain, lack of money, and care for ecclesiastical reform, namely, the continuation by the Holy See of its traditional patronage of the arts, was resumed by Pius IV. with the greatest zeal. In his anxiety to pass for a true Medici, he was full of eagerness to live up to the magnificent artistic reputation associated with that name. It was not possible to give him greater pleasure than by praising the zeal for building which was a real passion with him.¹

Of the two palace architects employed by Pius IV., one, the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio, had served his predecessor, and the other, Sallustio Peruzzi, was a son of the celebrated Baldassare, though the younger man showed that he was far inferior to his father.²

Pius IV.'s passion for building was chiefly employed for the Vatican itself. Numerous coats of arms and inscriptions, besides the account books in the State Archives in Rome, bear witness to the extent of the alterations which were undertaken there, as well as of the new buildings³ which were in the first place concerned with the completion of the Belvedere, where, since the time of Julius III., the Popes had for the most part taken up their abode. At the end of August, 1561, the new portions begun by Paul IV. had been practically finished, and tastefully adorned with statues and fountains.⁴ The Pope

¹ Cf. GIROL. SORANZO 76 *seq.* Giov. Visbrot wrote from Rome on December 11, 1562, that Pius IV. outshone Paul III. in his building activities; see MASIUS, Briefe, 348. Cf. also the funeral oration delivered by Silvio Antoniano, in *Silvii Antoniani Vita* a I. CASTALIONE, 117.

² See the accounts of the *Fabriche Palatine (State Archives, Rome) in FRIEDLÄNDER, 124.

³ See LANCIANI, III., 212 *seq.* Cf. Panvinus in MAI, *Spicil.*, IX., 368, 379; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, II.: Loges. The inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 73 *seq.* A painted coat of arms of Pius IV. on the upper wall in the cortile of the Papagallo.

⁴ See *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 296, Vatican Library). According to the inscription in FORCELLA, VI., 78, the works were all finished in 1562.

visited them on August 30th.¹ Some of the rooms, which now form the Etruscan Museum, were decorated with pictures representing biblical, allegorical and mythological subjects, which are still for the most part in a good state of preservation.²

The erection of the two floors of the new façade of the Belvedere took place in 1562. At that time, as a drawing by Giovan Antonio Dosio shows, the large cortile was enclosed to the west by plain walls.³ To correspond with the treatment of the east side begun by Julius II. and completed by Paul III., Pius IV. caused Pirro Ligorio to carry out a corridor in three floors thus completing the original idea of Bramante almost half a century after the master's death.⁴ At the same time Ligorio superintended the execution of the huge niche, the famous Nicchione, which had probably already been planned by Michelangelo when, in the days of Julius III., he gave the staircase facing the exedra of Bramante its present form. Ligorio carried out this scheme by building a second floor on the lower north side, erecting at the same time the half dome over the Nicchione, and crowning it with a loggia giving a beautiful view over the city and campagna.⁵ In the time

¹ Fr. Tonina *reports on August 30, 1561, that Pius IV. had visited "Tutte le fabbriche di Belvedere," which would shortly be completed (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² Cf. TAJA, 354 *seq.*; FRIEDLÄNDER, 68 *seq.*, 119, 129. Friedländer proves that these pictures are by the same group of artists as were employed in the Casino of Pius IV. Cf. also BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 114, 118 *seq.*, 135; *Art. Bologn.*, 43; *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kuntsamml.*, XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 166.

³ See EGGER, *Veduten*, tav. 47.

⁴ Cf. LANCIANI, III., 214 *seq.*

⁵ Hitherto the design for the huge niche has been universally attributed to Bramante. In a work shortly to be published Dr. Dagobert Frey will show that Bramante only planned the exedra on one floor, with an open semi-circular staircase, and that the idea of the strikingly magnificent Nicchione probably came from Michelangelo. That the gigantic niche was only erected under Pius IV. is shown by the hitherto unnoticed inscription: "Pius IV. Medices Mediolanensis Pont. Max. quo commodiores honestiores-

of the Romans similar colossal niches, like the one which to-day looks over the Palatine in the so-called *Stadion* in the Imperial palace, was the decoration generally preferred for gardens.¹

The general effect of the huge cortile thus formed was very wonderful. With its adornment of antique statuary contemporaries praised it as one of the most beautiful and noteworthy creations since the days of antiquity. The work was begun in the summer of 1561,² and lasted for four years. On occasions of great festivities, jousts and tournaments, it was difficult to imagine a better setting than this great theatre, closed in to the north by the Nicchione. On festal occasions the Pope and the College of Cardinals took their places on the external stairs leading from the lower cortile to the Giardino della Pigna, the other spectators being seated partly in the porticos of the lateral corridors, and partly in the exedra at the lower end of the cortile.

A striking picture of the festivities with which, on Carnival Monday, 1565, this magnificent cortile, "this atrium of pleasure," was opened, is given in the engraving, carried out with his customary detail, by Etienne du Pérac, which represents the splendid tourney, with the spectators massed around, which was held on that day to celebrate the marriage of Hannibal von Hohenems with Ortensia Borromeo, in the presence of all the Roman nobility.³

que sibi successoribusque, hortos Vaticanos redderet, complures aulas, cubicula et scalas, circum supraque hemicyclum pleraque a fundamentis extraxit, quasdam in veterem formam restituit atque exornavit. Anno salutis MDLXII Pont. sui anno III. Cal. Ian. absolvit." DU CHESNE, *Hist. des Papes* II., Paris, 1653, 422.

¹ Cf. M. GÖTHEIN, *Geschichte des Gartenkunst*, I., 242.

² According to Bondonus, in BONANNI, I., 282, and MERKLE, II., 542, the first stone was laid on August 1, 1561. Cf. the *letters of Caligari, August 30, and October 11, 1561, in App. nn. 15, 17.

³ Cf. *supra* p. 392. Troops were also reviewed in the cortile of the Belvedere; see the rare work, illustrated by woodcuts: *Descrittione della mostra generale fatta dalli Caporioni di Roma, alli 3 di giugno, 1565, in Belvedere, innanzi alla Santità di N.S. Papa Pio IV.*, s. l. (Rome, 1565).

Pius IV. had taken a most active interest in the building of the Belvedere. According to the reports of the Mantuan representative Tonina he had visited the works several times during October, 1563, and January, 1564.¹

During 1563 another work at the Vatican was completed which had been begun in 1560; the Loggia della Cosmografia. The west wing of the third floor of the Loggia had so far remained without decoration. Pius IV. had the ceiling and walls of this very richly adorned with stucco and paintings, especially with maps on the walls. According to Vasari this work was entrusted to Giovanni da Udine, who had come to Rome in 1560 with Cosimo I.² A glance at the work, which is still well preserved, shows clearly how the master had aged, and how decadent this form of art had become. The inspiration of antiquity has become almost extinct; changed taste and misplaced learning have introduced into the scheme of decoration subjects and facts which cannot be treated artistically, and give a heavy effect.³ Sacred and allegorical subjects appear in a strange medley, together with fantastic landscapes and maps, the latter being designed by Pirro Ligorio. The name and armorial bearings of the Pope who commissioned the work are repeated wherever it is possible in a way that is wearisome. Besides this a long series of inscriptions records all the actions of Pius IV. In these he is lauded as the restorer

¹ See the *reports of Fr. Tonina, dated Rome, October 6 and 27, 1563, and January 19, 1564, in which however the "fabriche" in the Belvedere are only spoken of in general (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² VASARI, VI., 563. Cf. CHATTARD, II., 33; Arch. di Soc. Rom., XXXI., 412; Jahrb. des Preussen Kunstsamml., XXX., (1909), Beiheft p. 161. According to the account books the work was only finished in 1564; see LANCIANI, III., 214. For the majolica decoration of the floor cf. BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb. I., 115 seq., and Art. Subalp., 148; EHRLE, Appart. Borgia, Rome, 1897, 41.

³ Cf. BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance⁵, Esslingen, 1912, 357. It is a view that has by no means been proved that "the incipient counter-reformation" was to blame for the decadence of this form of art.

of peace, the champion of justice, the helper of the poor, the promoter of learning, the reformer of ecclesiastical discipline. The Council of Trent, a session of which forms the subject of one of the pictures, is several times justly celebrated as his principal achievement ; the same is done with the help given to the French Catholics. The multifold building activities of the Pope, both in Rome and the Papal States, are recorded in detail, while the inscriptions which explain the maps are not without interest. It is noteworthy that neither in the case of England nor Germany is any mention made of their religious apostasy ; if one were to judge from the inscriptions it might be thought that no change had occurred in the relations of those countries with Rome. Of Spain it is stated that that land produces the most devoted sons of the Christian religion, and that they spread the faith far and wide. The subjection of Greece to the Turks is carefully recorded, while of Italy it is stated that it is the most beautiful, healthy and fertile country in the world, distinguished for its doctrine, the value and richness of its minerals, and in general for all the necessities of life ; once queen of the peoples, it still possesses in the Holy See the central point of the Christian religion, and is as it were, the one refuge of virtue.¹

In the same good state of preservation as the third floor of the Loggia is the Hall of Secret Consistories, newly erected by Pius IV. In the middle of the magnificent coffered ceiling are the brilliant gilt armorial bearings of the builder, with the

¹ See TAJA, 232-253. Cf. B. PODESTÀ in Riv. Europ., VIII., 2 (1877), 34 *seqq.* ; F. PORENA in Bollett. della Soc. geogr. Ital., 1888 ; Mél. d'Archéol., XX., 290 *seq.* ; E. SCHMIDT in Geogr. Zeitschrift of Hettner, XVII. (1911), 503. The inscriptions were often copied later on ; cf. N. CHYTRÆUS, Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae, Herborn, 1594. Information from the *registers of expenditure (State Archives, Rome) for the Loggia bella delle Cosmografie, in LANCIANI, III., 214. Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXXI., 412. Payment for the majolica tiles for the pavement, which were brought from Genoa, in BERTOLOTTI, Art. Subalp., 149.

words : " Pope Pius IV. in the fourth year of his reign, 1563."¹

How extensive the works undertaken by the Pope in the Vatican were, is also shown by the adornment of the Sala dei Papi, the Sala Regia, and the Sala Ducale. In the first named, the arms of Pius IV. are conspicuous on all four walls ; the paintings, however, have suffered so greatly that it is only with difficulty that one can imagine its former appearance. Sturdycariatides painted in bright sepia with baskets of flowers on their heads, and placed at regular intervals, seem to be supporting the sections of the richly decorated vaulting ; they are fairly well preserved as far as their general outline is concerned. The views of Rome in the wide spaces between, among which is the new Porta Pia, are almost completely destroyed.² The Sala Ducale was adorned with a frieze, in which landscapes and figures of the virtues alternate ; fine arabesques stand out on the white stucco of the vaulting.³

In the Sala Regia, coats of arms and inscriptions record the decorative work, which was carried out under the direction of Cardinal Mula. Since it was there that the ambassadors were received, it was fitting that the paintings on the walls should principally represent events in the history of the Popes relating to the gifts made by the civil princes to the Holy See, and to the relations of the latter with the Emperor. Long inscriptions explain these historical scenes. A number of painters were employed upon them, among whom were Taddeo Zuccaro, Daniele da Volterra, Girolamo Siccio-lante da Sermoneta, Livio Agresti, and Francesco Salviati.⁴

The celebrated *casa di campagna*, the Casino di Pio IV., or

¹ See TAJA, 79. This hall is now entitled *La prima camera de' paramenti*.

² Cf. STEINMANN, Das Appartemento Borgia im Vatikan, in Allgem. Zeitung, 1896, suppl. n. 74. See also TAJA, 88.

³ The coat of arms in the ceiling of the Sala Ducale gives only the name " PIUS IIII.," without date.

⁴ Cf. VASARI, VII., 39, 573 ; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 118, Art. Bologn., 44 seq. JAHRB. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXX, (1909), Beiheft, p. 166 ; LANCIANI, III., 228.

the Villa Pia, forms the crowning achievement of the works executed at the Vatican. This building was constructed facing the Cortile di Belvedere in the southern part of the Vatican Gardens, close to a small wood,¹ and has preserved the name of Pius IV. in the memory of all lovers of art down to our own days.

Its builder, Pirro Ligorio, was probably born at Naples before 1510, and died in 1583. He was a man of considerable learning and imagination, but was whimsical and fickle. An architect, an engineer, a painter, a writer, and an antiquarian, he nevertheless has a bad name among archeologists on account of his frequent falsification of inscriptions.² His vast knowledge of antiquity and his many other gifts are splendidly shown in his work as architect of the Villa Pia. The view of a writer of the XVIIIth century, that he took as his model an old Roman villa on the Lake of Gabi, is only true in a very limited sense.³ It is true to say that, as had been the case with the Villa d'Este, so in the Casino di Pio IV. Ligorio was able, in a supremely skilful way, to draw upon his extensive knowledge of ancient Roman monuments, but it is impossible to speak of a direct imitation of any definite building of antiquity,

¹ Therefore called in the account books and in letters (see App. n. 17) "la fabbrica del boschetto" or "Bosco di Belvedere" VASARI too (VII., 257) speaks of the "palazzetto del bosco di Belvedere."

² Cf. HANZEN in *Comment. phil. in honorem Th. Mommsen*, Berlin, 1877, 627 *seqq.* DESSAU in *Sitzungsber. der Berliner Akad.*, 1883, II., 1077 *seq.*; HENZEN in *Corpus inscript. lat.*, VI., 1, 41 *seq.*; HÜLSEN in *Mitteil. des Deutschen Archäol. Instit.*, Rome, Abt. XVI. (1901), 123 *seq.*; *Atti Mod.*, III., 110 *seq.*; FRIEDLÄNDER 10 *seq.*, 14; NOLHAC, *P. Ligorio*, Paris, 1886; PLON, *Leoni*, 176 *seq.*; BONACCI, *Note intorno a P. Ligorio*, Naples, 1905; PORENA in *Atti d. Accad. d. Arch. di Napoli*, N.S. I., (1912). For the house of Ligorio in Rome see N. *Antologia*, CXXXVI. (1908), 416 *seq.* On December 2, 1560, P. Ligorio became an honorary citizen of Rome; see GREGOROVIVS, *Kl. Schriften*, I., 315.

³ VENUTI, *Descriz. di Roma*, 501.

since the decorative and architectural forms with which every part of the Villa Pia is profusely adorned, are drawn from ancient Roman models and from many different sources. Antiquity indeed pervades the whole of this graceful building, which is more than ordinarily attractive on account of its beauty, but it is nevertheless an entirely original conception.¹

Paul IV. had begun the construction of this casino, "the most beautiful resting place for the afternoon hours which modern architecture has produced,"² in May, 1558, but the works had come to an end by the end of the same year.³ Pius IV. resumed them in May, 1560, and made such rapid progress that in the course of the following year the entire scheme, which is so beautiful, was completed as far as its general features are concerned. In the autumn of 1562 the interior and exterior decoration was also finished, including the setting up of the draped antique figures, so that it was possible to go and live there.⁴ A great deal of antique material was used

¹ See MÜNTZ, III., 344; FRIEDLÄNDER, 15 *seq.* Cf. QUATRE-MÈRE DE QUINCY, *Gesch. der berühmten Architekten*, I. (1831), 293; BERGNER, *Das barocke Rom*, Leipzig, 1914, II *seq.*

² BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone*, 208.

³ Cf. ANCEL, *Le Vatican*, 63 *seqq.*

⁴ See FRIEDLÄNDER, *Kasino Pius' IV.*, 5-8. This work, which is written with great restraint, and is the basis of the description which follows, surpasses all the other works which have so far appeared, among which may be named: TAJA, 499 *seq.*; CHATTARD, III. (1762), 232 *seq.*; BOUCHET, *La Villa Pia des jardins du Vatican*, Paris, 1837; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL II.: *Villa Pia*; BARTOLINI in *Giorn. Arcadico*, VIII. (1901), 85 *seqq.*; LANCIANI, III., 217 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.* For a criticism of Friedländer and of the work of Krommes cited *infra* p. 424, n.2, cf. H. Voss in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, V., 381 *seq.* See also the pleasant article by SCHMARSOW, *Das Gartenhaus Pius' IV.*, in *Deutsche Lit.-Zeit.*, 1912, n. 15. On the strength of the account books and the inscriptions (see FORCELLA, VI., 72 *seq.*), Friedländer (p. 8) rightly places the completion of the exterior at the end of 1561. The *letter of Caligari of October 11, 1561, gives the date more exactly; cf. App. n. 17 (Papal Secret Archives.)

in the construction, a thing which continued to be done for a long time to come.¹

The Villa Pia was admirably suited for the purpose of providing the Pope with an easily accessible place of quiet and recreation, whither, either alone or with a few friends, he could withdraw from the bustle and pomp of the court. The Villa Pia also holds a particularly important place in the history of building architecture, for it is the only secular building in an almost complete state of preservation belonging to the transition period between the Renaissance and the baroque style. In its architecture, decoration and painting are combined in perfect harmony.

The Villa consists of two small buildings, the Casino proper and the Loggia. The Casino, which is a strictly symmetrical building half hidden in the wood, has added on to it, behind and to the left, a small tower, "as if it had been felt necessary to add this last touch so as to give to the whole edifice the appearance of a happy informality."² The Loggia stands like a well-house in the middle of a basin fed from "maschere." In front of the Loggia there is a parterre with formal beds of flowers.³

The Casino and the Loggia are separated by an oval shaped cortile surrounded by a parapet with seats, and a graceful fountain plays in the middle. This fountain, the oval basin of which corresponds to the shape of the cortile, is adorned by two marble figures of putti riding upon a dolphin; these are the work of the sculptor Casignola. The paving of the cortile is composed of flat stones of different colours, white travertino and dark peperino, in such a way that there is no regular pattern, thus increasing the general appearance of informality. At the two sides there are entrances consisting of richly

¹ Cf. LANCIANI, III., 212, 217. An important discovery was made in 1562 at SS. Cosmas and Damian, where some fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* were found. Cf. DOREZ in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, 1910, 499 *seq.*, and HÜLSEN, *Dei lavori archeol. di Giovanantonio Dosio*, Rome, 1913, 3.

² BURCKHARDT, *Gesch. der Renaissance*, 250.

³ See A. GÖTHEIN, *Gesch. der Gartenkunst*, I., 278.

decorated gateways, forming vestibules, the outer part of which, towards the Casino, form the beginning and end of the great wall which encloses the whole of the north-west part, especially the principal building, and cutting it off, as though to ensure absolute privacy.¹

A characteristic of the whole undertaking, which was intended to be, above all things, a splendid example of decorative art, is the complete preponderance of the decorative element over the purely architectural. The façades of both the Casino and the Loggia, display, from top to bottom, a prodigality of graceful decoration. Almost every inch of available space is filled with stucco ornamentation, in such a way that the architectural lines almost entirely disappear. The part taken in the reliefs and sculptures by the antique is noteworthy, and characteristic of the worldly tendencies of Pius IV. On the façade of the Loggia, which is open at both ends, may be seen reliefs in stucco representing Apollo with the nine Muses and two Bacchic figures. The tympanum, in the centre of which is Aurora reclining upon the clouds, is surmounted by an antique female figure. On the north east side a relief represents the nymph Amaltea with a she-goat, which is suckling the infant Jove.

Four columns of grey Numidian granite adorn the entrances of both the Loggia and the Casino. The façade of the Casino, which is without windows, and is purely decorative, has numerous allegorical scenes in relief. Eirene, Dike, Eunomia and Aegle are accompanied by Pan and Silenus, all distinguished by inscriptions. In the central space a five-line Latin inscription in large letters informs us that in 1561 Pius IV. erected a loggia, cortile, fountain and casino in the wood of the Vatican Palace for himself and his successors. The marble coat of arms of the Pope stands out boldly underneath this inscription, held up by two winged figures, and surmounted by the crossed keys and the tiara.

From the portico of the Casino, which is richly decorated in mosaics, conches, stucco, paintings and statues, a lower door

¹ FRIEDLÄNDER, 18, 20 *seq.*

leads to a wide rectangular hall, the principal feature of the ground floor. There are two other rooms ; out of the larger we pass into a small empty one, in which is placed the narrow staircase, which, by means of a few square landings, leads to the first floor, and opens on to a small platform with a balustrade, and lighted by three windows. The apartments on the first floor correspond as to their arrangement and size with the more lofty and airy ones on the ground floor.¹

The interior decoration of the Casino is even more magnificent than that of the exterior. The floor is covered with small tiles of majolica, arranged with a taste which, both as to the varied design and the bright colouring, recall the best period of this branch of art. The walls have no paintings ; they were intended to be covered with hangings, because frescoes would have spoilt the effect of the antique statues which were placed there, and which were taken for the most part from the villa of Julius III.² The principal and outstanding decoration is to be found in the beauty of the ceilings, where a scheme of vaulting "a specchio" has been adopted. "The vaulting springs from a wide cornice, and rises from all four sides to the centre, meeting at the corners in groins which are covered with decoration."³ Rome already possessed several outstanding examples of this type of decoration in the Loggia of Raphael, at the Castle of St. Angelo, and in the Villa di Papa Giulio. That of the ceiling of the Casino is on the same lines, and was entrusted, by the advice of Cardinal Mula, to a number of artists, among whom were Federigo Zuccaro,

¹ In the vestibule of the Casino two specimens of *cosmati* work of the XIIth century are used in the pavement. In one of these there can be read in capital letters an inscription which may be reproduced here, as it is not mentioned in FRIEDLÄNDER in his otherwise complete and detailed description ; it runs as follows : "Hunc operis quicquid chorus ecce nitet preciosi artificis scultri scomsit Bona dext. prae Pauli."

² Cf. HÜBNER, *Le statue di Roma*, I. : *Quellensammlung*, Leipzig, 1912, 79 seq.

³ FRIEDLÄNDER, 46.

Santi di Tito and Federigo Barocci.¹ Barocci, who was a compatriot of Raphael, distinguished himself especially in this work. His paintings are marked by great strength and beauty, both in their design and colouring. In his treatment he departs from that adopted by his predecessors, for whereas hitherto the symbolical representations had been spread over the whole curve of the vaulting, Barocci places the principal motif in the centre, and thus has the most important scene at the true point of view.²

The decoration of the ceilings in each of the rooms in the Casino is extraordinarily varied; no two are alike, and each is in some way characteristic of the art of the day. The spectator is presented with a rich display of gilt and painted stucco work, and the motives in each case are extremely beautiful, while the general impression is very fine. Anyone who examines the stucco work even casually will find that it leads up almost insensibly to the paintings themselves. Inscriptions and armorial bearings at every turn pay their homage to the Pope who caused the work to be carried out.

On the ground floor the paintings on the ceiling in the large hall consist of small grotesques, all connected with each other, among which are smiling landscapes and larger decorative frescos of single figures, splendid allegorical figures of women and putti, and lastly of independent paintings, which are separated from the cornice by scenes from the life of Christ. Among these the central point and the principal picture is a magnificent fresco of the Holy Family by Barocci, in which the influence of Correggio is plainly to be seen. The other smaller paintings, which are drawn from the New Testament, are the work of Barocci's principal assistant, Pierleone Genga.³

The vaulting of the adjoining room, the decoration of which

¹ Cf. VASARI, VII., 91.

² See FRIEDLÄNDER 50 seq., 54. For Barocci cf. SCHMARSOW, F. Barocci, I.-III., Leipzig 1909-1911; BOMBE, F. Barocci Perugia 1909; KROMMES, Studien zu Leipzig, 1909-19. See also FRIEDLÄNDER in Thieme-Becker, Lexikon der bild. Künstler, II., 511 seq.

³ Cf. FRIEDLÄNDER 54 seq., 62 seq., 104 seq., 110 seq.

has much in common with that of the large hall, but betrays a later tendency, and a more advanced baroque style, is also adorned by a fresco of the Annunciation by Barocci. Rarely has this subject been depicted with so great dramatic power as here. The mysterious chiaroscuro, which Barocci employed here for the first time, is in keeping with the subject. The angel, who is shown as a young man, hovers above the Blessed Virgin who, on her knees before her prie-dieu, stretches out her hands in wonder, yet receives the tidings with a royal dignity.¹

The four pictures in the vaulting of the well of the staircase are important on account of their subjects, and were the work of the Florentine, Santi di Tito ; this too was completed under Pius IV. These paintings represent : the Casino itself, as it appeared immediately after its completion, the horses of Montecavallo with the road which the Pope had constructed, ending in the Porta Pia, the Via Flaminia to its end, the Porta del Popolo, which also had been restored by the Pope, and lastly the Cortile di Belvedere, in which the connecting link erected by Pius IV. is not yet to be seen. In these pictures the architecture is only a background ; they are rather to be described as dainty little landscapes, enlivened by figures.²

The Loggia, which was certainly used for meals in the open air, had a delightful view over the fishpond below, and the flower beds of the garden. On the ceiling, where painting and stucco are alike employed, Federigo Zuccaro painted scenes from the history of Moses. Again here the pictures are drawn entirely from sacred history, whereas one would naturally have been led to expect a return to antiquity. The erotic and mythological paintings round the side walls, however, show how strong a hold such things still had upon men's taste. The changed times nevertheless appear in the fact that in the Casino of Pius IV. not only are there many pictures of religious subjects, but also that, in contrast to the

¹ See *ibid.*, 72 *seq.*, 119 *seq.* The reproduction in Friedländer gives the picture the wrong way round.

² *Ibid.*, 86 *seq.*

Villa of Julius III., the allegorical figures are nearly always draped.¹

Since the Villa of Pius IV. was situated in a more or less hidden place, and was not generally accessible, there is little mention in the guides to Rome of this "little jewel" in which Ligorio so cleverly combined a house and a garden.² Contemporaries only refer to it rarely,³ but all the more fully do they speak of the other buildings with which Pius IV. enriched and fortified the Eternal City.

The events of the war of Paul IV. with Spain had shown how much Rome stood in need of defences. Pius IV. could not forget the experiences of those days. After the news of the sudden defeat of the Spanish fleet near Jerbeh in May, 1560,⁴ the Turkish peril was always present before the minds of the Curia.⁵ In order to protect his capital against a sudden attack by the Turkish corsairs, Pius IV. was not content with

¹ The stricter views which came into force in this respect after the Council of Trent, produced the decision to paint over the nudities of Michelangelo's Last Judgment in 1564. Cf. Vol. XII. p. 611, of this work. Mention is also made *ibid.* a thing which has been passed over by NOGARA in *Monatsschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, III. (1910), 160 *seq.*, of the memorial containing a strong attack on the Last Judgment of Michelangelo, which was sent on September 6, 1561, to the Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, for the Pope, by Scipione Saurolo. It is due, to NOGARA or to G. MERCATI that Saurolo's letter, which I was informed had been lost, is printed together with the memorial, in SALA, III., 90 *seqq.* For the opposition of the Bologna clergy to the nude figure of Neptune on the fountain of Giambologna at Bologna see PATRIZIO PARRIZI, *Il Gigante*, Bologna, 1897.

² See GOTHEIN, *Geisch. der Gartenkunst*, I., 280.

³ Friedländer (p. 86) has already called attention to this. The following passage in the *letter of Caligari to Commendone, dated Rome, April 4, 1564, certainly refers to the Villa: "N. S^{re} domenica mattina fece pasto a la vigna a molti suoi parenti." (Lett. di princ. XXIII., n. 50, Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ Cf. ZINKEISEN, II., 885 *seq.*; JORGA, III., 104 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. Massarelli in MERKLE, II., 345; HAMMER, II., 301; ZINKEISEN, II., 885 *seq.* GUGLIELMOTTI, *Pirati*, II., 413 *seq.*

strengthening the Aurelian Walls,¹ but in January, 1561,² he resolved to undertake a great new scheme of fortification.

The first consideration was to add to the defences of the Leonine City, a matter which Paul III. had already taken in hand.³ A beginning was made by strengthening the defences of the Castle of St. Angelo, where the third pentagonal rampart which had been commenced by Paul IV. had been in great measure destroyed by the overflowing of the Tiber in September, 1557.⁴ A commission, composed of Cardinals Tiberio Crispi, Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio di Santa Fiora, was set up, which entrusted the general supervision of the works to the commandant of St. Angelo, Giovanni Battista Serbelloni, and his brother, Gabrio, the celebrated military engineer.⁵ By the advice of Michelangelo, the carrying out of the new work was given to the well-known engineer, Francesco Laparelli, who was assisted by Latino Orsini, Galeazzo Alessi, Ascanio della Corgna and Francesco Paciotti.⁶

In the last week of February, 1561, the Pope and the Cardinals held a meeting to discuss this important matter,

¹ See NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma*, Rome 1820, 301, 322, 324, 356, 367, 380; *Revue archéol.*, VI., 31, 32 *seq.*; VII., 130, 136, 226. Cf. FORCELLA, XIII., 34. Two coats of arms of Pius IV. with the date 1563 are preserved in the walls of the Via delle mura near Porta Cavalleggeri.

² *" Qui si da ordine per fortificare Borgo " says Fr. Tonina on January 11, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and on January 16 G. Grandi: *" N. S^{re} ha dato principio alla fortificatione del Borgo " (State Archives, Modena). Cf. the report of the Portuguese ambassador of January 16, 1561, in *Corpo dipl. Portug.*, IX., 164 *seq.*

³ Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 560.

⁴ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 169, and BORGATTI, 131 *seq.*

⁵ This is clear from **Mandati camerale* 1560-1562, p. 84 (State Archives, Rome), and from the *Motuproprio* of July 30, 1562, published by PAGLIUCCHI (p. 162 *seq.*).

⁶ Cf. VENUTI, *Vita del cap. Fr. Laparelli*, Leghorn, 1761, 7, 13, 22; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 373 *seq.*; BORGATTI, 135, 211; ROCCHI, *Piante* 73, 319 *seq.* See also BERTOLOTTI, *Art. subalp.*, 97.

also taking into consideration the question of strengthening the fortifications of the coast.¹ For this purpose Pius IV. had already visited Ostia at the end of January, 1561,² and on April 18th he went, accompanied by experts, to Civitavecchia.³

On May 8th the first stone of the new fortifications of St. Angelo was laid with great solemnity, the Pope, who was accompanied by a suite of 18 Cardinals and many prelates, himself performing the ceremony. The arms of Pius IV. were engraved on one side of the foundation stone, and his name with the date of the second year of his pontificate on the other, while coins of gold, silver and copper were buried with the stone. A salvo of cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo proclaimed the important event to the city.⁴

The work on the fortifications was carried on with feverish haste during the summer of 1561 and until the autumn.⁵

¹ *Avviso di Roma of February 22nd, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 255, Vatican Library).

² Cf. the *reports of Fr. Tonina of January 22 and 25, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See App. n. 6,

³ The *Avviso di Roma of April 18, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 268, Vatican Library) mentions as one of those who accompanied the Pope, the engineer of the Duke of Urbino, Baldassarre Tacco of Urbino, who had made the "modello della fortificazione di Borgo." This was the "Baldassarre architetto," of whom Saraceni remarks in his *report of April 7, 1561 (State Archives, Florence) that the Pope was awaiting his arrival in order that he might go with him to Civitavecchia.

⁴ See the *letter of Saraceni of May 9, 1561 (State Archives, Florence), and the detailed report in the *Avviso di Roma of May 10, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 272, Vatican Library). May 8 is here given as the date of the laying of the first stone. Bondonus is accordingly corrected on this point in MERKLE, II., 541 (May 7) and in BONANNI, I., 283 (May 6). Cf. also the *report of Fr. Tonina of May 10, 1561: *"Di nuovo qui è che giobbia passata S.Stà in forma solenne andò a porre le prime pietre della fortificazione che si è cominciata di Castel S. Angelo et di Borgo." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁵ Cf. in App. nn. 13, 17, the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives). An *Avviso di Roma of August 30, 1561 (Vatican Library) speaks of the zeal with which

In October a Mantuan agent reports that the Pope inspected the progress of the work every day, and desired nothing so much as its completion.¹ To obtain the necessary money for the expenses the tax for grinding corn and slaughtering beasts was increased,² in spite of the opposition of the Romans.³ The sums swallowed up by the fortification of the Castle of St. Angelo may be seen from the account books : for the years 1561-1562 45,502 scudi were expended, in 1563 44,551, and in 1565 46,484.⁴ Considerable expropriations of property were needed in order to isolate the passage leading from the Castle to the Vatican ;⁵ and connected with this was the displacement of the north wall of the ramparts of the Leonine City. The new gate that was made there was called the *Porta Angelica*, from the baptismal name of the Pope ; armorial bearings and inscriptions record its construction at the instance of Pius IV. There, as on the restored *Porta di Castello*, may be read another and very significant inscription : " Let him who would preserve the city follow our example."⁶

they were working at the fortifications of the Castle ; see App. n. 16. On September 17, 1561, Fr. Tonina writes : * " Si dovea tirar hoggi il filo della muraglia chi si ha da fare da Castello a Palazzo. ma non è seguito poi, forse domani " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua),

¹ * " N.^{re} va ogni dì a piedi a vedere la fabrica che si fa della fortezza del Castello et pare che non desideri altro che questa fortezza." Fr. Tonina from Rome, October 15, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See * *Avviso di Roma* of January 11, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 240b, Vatican Library).

³ Cf. *RODOCANACHI*, St.-Ange, 163, and *PAGLIUCCHI*, 143.

⁴ Cf. *ROCCHI*, *Piante*, 304 *seq.*

⁵ See *RODOCANACHI*, St.-Ange, 264 *seq.*

⁶ See *FORCELLA*, XIII., 32 ; *GUGLIELMOTTI*, 366 *seq.* ; *TOMASSETTI*, III., 1 *seq.*, 8 (drawing). Cf. *Inventario dei Monumenti di Roma I.*, Rome, 1912, 441. The inscription on the *Porta di Castello* is now in the Museum of the Castle of St. Angelo. In spite of all protests (*cf.* A. SACCO, *Le torre poligone di Castel S. Angelo*, Florence, 1890, 6) the *Porta Angelica* was destroyed in 1890 in making the *Piazza del Risorgimento* ; some remains of it were built up not far from its former site in the outer walls of the enclosure of the Vatican.

The enlarged part of the Leonine City received the name of Borgo Pio, and the work of construction was helped on by the granting of privileges.¹ The above mentioned passage, which Pius IV. caused to be restored, separated the Borgo S. Angelo from this new quarter. In order to provide convenient means of access seven tall entrance gates were formed, on both sides of which fine shields bearing the arms of the Pope can still be seen.²

The old parish church of S. Maria in Traspontina, which stood close to the moat of the Castle, and not far from the bridge, was pulled down to make room for the new fortifications in 1564-1565. Pius V. had it rebuilt in March, 1566, the design for the façade being the work of Sallustio Peruzzi.³

The Venetian envoy, Girolamo Soranzo, in his report of June 14th, 1563, says that the fortifications in the Borgo and at the Castle of St. Angelo had made great progress, but that the work took so much time and was so costly, that unless another Pope of the same way of thinking should succeed Pius IV., like many other such undertakings, it would never be finished.⁴ This view can easily be understood if we bear in mind that the circumference of the fortifications was three kilometres in length and included ten bastions and five gates. Soranzo's prediction was fulfilled, not only on account of the great expense, but also because of the difficulty of finding

¹ See "Bulla Pii Papae IV. erectionis civitatis Piae, prope arcem S. Angeli, ac gratiarum in ea aedificantibus concessarum," dated August 23, 1565, Rome (Bladus) 1565; also in Bull. Rom., VII., 381 *seq.* Cf. also LANCIANI, IV., 11.

² See in FORCELLA, XIII., 32, the inscriptions on the entrance nearest to the Vatican, which took the place of the old Porta S. Pellegrino. Cf. BORGATTI, *Le mura di Roma*, Rome, 1899, 398.

³ Cf. PAGLIUCCHI, 141 *seq.* L. Bondonus says: *"*Die 13 iuli [1564] ex commissione S^{mi} D.N. fuerunt dirutae quaedam domunculae, quae erant prope dictam arcem [S. Angeli], ac etiam paries beatae Mariae Transpontinae.*" (Papal Secret Archives. Miscell. Arm., XII, 29, p. 374).

⁴ GIROL. SORANZO, 83. For the progress of the works see SICKEL, *Konzil*, 455, and in App. n. 33 the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti of September 15, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

suitable ground for the proposed bastions¹ in the wider sweep of the ramparts both on the slope of the Vatican hill, and on the north side of the Leonine City between the Belvedere and the Castle of St. Angelo. Bernardo Gamucci extols these new works which were being carried out in accordance with the modern ideas of fortification as one of the wonders of Rome, and says that it is a superhuman undertaking.² Pius IV., who had always taken the most keen interest in the work,³ nowhere else proclaims by means of inscriptions and coats of arms his responsibility for the work so fully as he does here.⁴ A special commemorative medal was struck to record it.⁵ Between the years 1562 and 1565 the Castle of St. Angelo was equipped with new cannon and arms, and stocked with supplies; restorations were also effected in the interior and new quarters formed.⁶

¹ Cf. in App. n. 5, the *report of Fr. Tonina of January 18 1561 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² GAMUCCI, *Antichità*, 179 seq.

³ On April 8, 1562, the Pope visited the *fabbrica del Castello* (*report of Tonina of that date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); he did the same in February, 1563 (*report of the same of February 17, *loc. cit.*) and again in August, when he also visited the *fabbrica di Borgo* (*report of the same, August 11, 1563, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ See FORCELLA, XIII., 145; BORGATTI, 211 seq.; PAGLIUCCHI, 141 seq. Cf. BARTOLI, 92, and BORGATTI, *Il Mausoleo d'Adriano e il Castel S. Angelo*, Rome, 1902, 52. At the present day (1913) there are preserved in the Castle of St. Angelo no less than 11 inscriptions some with the arms of Pius IV. Two read: Pius IIII Mediolan. P.M.; five: Pius IIII Mediolan. Pont. Max. Anno sal. 1563 (these were placed in the curtains of the pentagonal ramparts); two others: Pius IIII Medices Mediolan. Pontif. Max. anno sal. 1563. Lastly there are two key-stones; angels holding up tablets with the inscription: *Observato fines* Pius IIII Pont. Max. Anno sal. 1565. Several coats of arms of Pius IV. are also to be found in the covered way leading to the Vatican.

⁵ Cf. BONANNI, I., 283 seq.; VENUTI, III; ARMAND, II., 217.

⁶ Cf. RODOCANACHI, *St. Ange*, 173; PAGLIUCCHI, 143. For the restoration of the Ponte S. Angelo see *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI, Beiheft, p. 59.

Extensive constructions were planned, and partly carried out, for the protection of the coasts of the Papal States. In accordance with the proposals of Martino de Ayala fortified towers were erected near Terracina, Monte Circeo, Anzio and Palidoro, where the inhabitants might take refuge at the approach of the Turkish corsairs. A complete system of such towers was projected, but the fulfilment of the scheme was left to Pius V.¹ At the same time the strengthening of the fortifications of the ports was taken into consideration.² At Ostia Pius IV. made good in 1561 the damage which that fortress had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards under Paul IV.³ The works at Civitavecchia were on a larger scale; the Pope inspected them in person several times, first in October, 1561,⁴ and again in November, 1563.⁵ A medal commemorates the improvement in the harbour and the security given to the city by Pius IV. The work only reached completion under his successor.⁶ When, especially in 1562, the Mediterranean coast, and later, that of the Adriatic, were disturbed by Turkish attacks,⁷ Pius IV. made provision for

¹ See GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 398-405, 430 *seq.*, 449, 478. Cf. TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, I., 180.

² Cf. the **Avvisi di Roma* of May 10, October 4 and 25, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 272, 301, 305b, Vatican Library).

³ See the *report of Mula of January 25, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives), and the *Relazione* of Tiepolo, 196. Cf. GUGLIELMOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 84; DURUY, 200, n. 4; BERTOLOTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I, 170, and the *report in App. n. 6.

⁴ See in App. n. 18, the *letter of Caligari of October 22, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives). Cf. SUSTA, III., 44.

⁵ See the *report of Giac. Tarregghetti, dated Rome, November 13, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁶ See GUGLIELMOTTI, *loc. cit.*, 286 *seq.*, 290, 294, 296. Cf. BONANNI, I., 290. Two letters of Charles Borromeo of 1562 concerning the fortifications of Civitavecchia in PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, *Guida di Orvieto*, 357 *seq.* On the principal gate of the Rocca at Civitavecchia the name of Pius IV. may still be seen.

⁷ An **Avviso di Roma* of June 6, 1562, reports that the corsairs were taking away many prisoners near Ardea; a man who had conspired with them had been imprisoned (Urb. 1039, p. 368b,

the protection of his subjects.¹ Specially noteworthy was the improvement carried out by his orders of the defence works at Ancona, where the harbour was also improved.² How methodically the Pope proceeded with his fortification works in the Papal States may be seen from the fact that at the end of 1561 he ordered Gabrio Serbelloni to make a tour of the whole territory in order that he might personally satisfy himself as to the places which stood in special need of defences.³ The Papal States were also in need of protection against other enemies than the corsairs, and Pius IV. accordingly in 1561 had the defences of Bologna strengthened, and enclosed Anagni, which was situated in an exposed position, within a completely new line of walls. The Florentine, Giovan Antonio Dosio, who was well known for his archeological researches, drew the plans for this.⁴ In May, 1563, Ravenna was fortified, which

Vatican Library). Another surprise attack had been made near Ostia on June 18 and 19 (see *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1562, *ibid.*, 374). Some corsairs even got as far as Tre Fontane, in consequence of which the Pope sent 500 men to Ostia "per vedere di resistere alle ruine" (*Avviso of June 27, 1562, *ibid.*, 375). For the fortifications at Nettuno in 1563, see TOMASSETTI, *Campagna*, II., 332.

¹ See the *Avvisi di Roma of May 16 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 363b), March 31, April 14 and 28, 1565 (Urb. 1040, p. 1, 3, 7b, Vatican Library).

² Cf. LEONI, *Ancona illustr.* Ancona, 1832, 294; SALA, III., 86; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 489; according to a *report of Mula of July 27, 1560 (Papal Secret Archives) a strong fortification of Ancona was already under consideration. The *brief "super solutione 8,000 scutorum pro reparatione portus Anconit." (Editti, in Casanatense Library, Rome) is dated June 9, 1561; Faenza was exempted from the tax; see *brief of May 28, 1564 (Communal Archives, Faenza).

³ See in App. n. 19, the *letter of Caligari of November 8, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ A *report of Fr. Tonina of January 11, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), records the fortification of Bologna, and GIAC. SORANZO, 131, that of Anagni, 238 *seq.* cf. DE MAGISTRIS, *Storia d'Anagni*, I (1889), 169, 238 *seq.* See also Pio IV. y Felipe II., 343. As to Anagni an *Avviso di Roma of May 3, 1565, announces that

caused it to be said that fears of a Huguenot invasion of Italy were entertained.¹

The Pope combined his fortification works with aesthetic considerations in his restoration of the gates of Rome, for which Michelangelo provided many of the sketches. For the new gate which was to take the place of the ancient Porta Nomentana or of S. Agnese, the master made three designs, which Vasari describes as being as beautiful as they were clever. From motives of economy Pius IV. chose the one which was the least costly.² In March, 1561, the work was commenced upon this new entrance to the city, which was erected between the ancient Porta Nomentana and the Porta Salaria.³ On June 18th of the same year Pius IV. laid the first stone of the gate, which was named after him Porta Pia.⁴ The contract made by the Apostolic Camera with the builders employed on this work is dated July 2nd, 1561. In this document Michelangelo is spoken of as the director of the works, and Pierluigi Gaeta appears as overseer.⁵ For the sake of safety, a motuproprio ordered the closing both of the Porta Salaria and the old Porta Nomentana, and Count Ranieri was appointed custodian of the new gate, with permission to build an inn there.⁶ The façade of the Porta Pia towards the city,

the Pope is going there for the Ascension "a veder la fortezza, alla quale s'è tuttavia intorno" (C. Farnes. VI., State Archives, Naples). For Dosio see BERTOLLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 62. Cf. also HULSEN, *Dei lavori archeol. di G. Dosio*, Rome, 1913, 3.

¹ Cf. the *report of Fr. Tonina of May 5, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See VASARI, VII., 260; DAELLI, n. 23; THODE, V., 208. Cf. GAMUCCI, *Antichità*, 116.

³ See LANCIANI, III., 231 *seq.* Cf. CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 475; *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 166.

⁴ See *Diarium caerem.* in BONANNI, I., 278 and in App. n. 11. the *letter of Tonina of June 18, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the *Annuaire Pontifical*, 1915, p. 168, is an old picture of the Porta Pia, and on p. 169 a picture of the tomb of Pius IV.

⁵ GOTTI, II., 160 *seq.* Cf. BERTOLLOTTI, *Art. subalp.*, 40 *seq.*; THODE, I., 471; V., 207.

⁶ See BICCI, *Notizia della famiglia Boccapaduli*, 230.

which was only completed in the time of Pius IX., clearly shows the intention of the master to give the actual gateway a more imposing appearance ; as far as the construction is concerned this is carried out in such a way as to produce an extremely fine effect, being surrounded by small secondary windows and sham battlements. The construction of the actual adornment is subordinated to this purpose, and is in itself quite trivial.¹ In the upper part, above the entrance, was placed the coat of arms of the founder, carved out of a colossal marble capital discovered under the palace of Cardinal della Valle.

The reconstruction of the Porta del Popolo, which swallowed up more than 10,000 scudi, was decided upon in the autumn of 1561,² but was only taken in hand in 1562.³ On July 23rd of the following year Pius IV. inspected the outer façade ;⁴ this takes the form of a triumphal arch, and is adorned with four Doric columns, two of granite and two of marble.

The inscriptions on the Porta del Popolo and the Porta Pia tell us of the rearrangement of the streets which was undertaken by Pius IV.,⁵ which, like the levelling and reconstruction of the piazze near the Lateran⁶ and Capitol,⁷ were undertaken

¹ See BURCKHARDT, *Gesch. der Renaissance*, 231. Cf. REUMONT, III., 2, 721 ; GEYMÜLLER, *Michelangelo als architekt*, 39 seq., 55 seq. ; KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 654 ; MACKOWSKY, *Michelangelo* 324 seq. ; also NIBBY, *Roma antica*, I., 143, and *Arch. d. soc. Rom.*, XI., 157.

² Cf. in App. n. 17, the *letter of Caligari of October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

³ See LANCIANI, III., 234 seq. ; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 474 n. Cf. BONANNI, I., 287 ; VENUTI, 113 seq.

⁴ *" Hieri S.B^{no} . . . riguardò assai la porta del popolo riformata per Sua B^{ne} " Report of Fr. Tonina from Rome, July 24, 1563 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Here, too, is given the inscription (Anno III.) from which THODE (V., 210) wrongly calculates the beginning as well as the end of the work.

⁵ See FORCELLA, XIII., 31 seq. Cf. CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 476 n.

⁶ See CONTARINI, *Antichità*, 41.

⁷ See RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 80.

from motives both of utility and beauty. The street leading from Monte Cavallo to the Porta Pia, which was named after the Pope, was finished in June, 1561, and is one of the most beautiful in the whole city.¹ It is rivalled by the Via Flaminia, which Pius IV. improved and beautified as far as Ponte Molle. It is impossible to imagine, boasts a contemporary, any entrance to a city more beautiful than this, which so splendidly prepares the stranger for the grandeurs and marvels of Rome.²

Pius IV., who also took steps to connect the Via di Porta Angelica with the Via Cassia, and to restore the Via Merulana and Via Aurelia, had even more extensive plans for the well-being of his capital; above all he wished to improve the communication between Rome and the sea-coast.³ Another of his projects was to prevent the inundations of the Tiber, which so frequently afflicted the city.⁴ In order to put an

¹ See in App. nn. 5, 11, the *reports of Tonina of January 18, and June 18, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also the note of Girol. Ferrucci to ANDREA FULVIO, *L'antichità di Roma con le aggiuntioni di G. F.*, Venice, 1588, 26b.

² GAMUCCI, *Antichità*, 133.

³ See the inscriptions in TAJA, 244 and FORCELLA, XIII., 32, as well as LANCIANI, III., 169. The construction of the street from SS. Quattro Coronati to the Lateran is recorded in the guide, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, Rome, 1563, 28. Reference is made to the Via Aurelia in the *Avviso di Roma of October 4, 1561 (Urb. 1039): the Pope is about to make "una strada commoda de poter andare da Roma a Civitavecchia, anche per li carri." An *Avviso di Roma of October 25, 1561, announces that the Pope intends to fortify Ostia and Civitavecchia. At Civitavecchia, besides repairing the road, there was a plan for "un naviglio over di trovar un modo di poter far andare le barche giunte che siano nel porto insino a Polo, ove potranno discargare le robbe per condurle più facilmente a Roma per esser quella strada più commoda che non è quella d'Hostia" (Urb. 1039, p. 305b, Vatican Library).

⁴ An *Avviso di Roma of June 28, 1561, says that Pius IV. "ha proposto di voler far con l'aiuto de Romani che si facci passare un ramo del Tevere per i Prati insino alla Magliana, ove

end to the brigandage in the neighbourhood of Rome, the Pope had the woods round Civitavecchia, which formed such a good hiding place, cut down.¹

In some respects Pius IV. was the precursor of Sixtus V., not only by his improvement of the streets, the beauty of which was so praised by his contemporaries,² but also because, from the second year of his pontificate,³ he set himself to the task of providing for one of the most important needs of the life of Rome, a good water supply. With this end in view he entirely renewed the *Acqua Vergine*.⁴ The necessary steps were decided upon in the spring of 1561;⁵ not only the Roman people, but the College of Cardinals as well, were to contribute to the cost.⁶ In April, 1562, Pius IV. inspected the works near Salone.⁷ Contemporaries were right in praising this

habia a ritornare nel Tevere et questo per metter Borgo in penisula et per obviare alle inundationi ” (Urb. 1039, p. 283b, Vatican Library). For the plan of Antonio Treviso of 1560 *cf.* GASPORONI, *Arti e Lettere*, Rome, 1865, 117 *seq.*; BELTRAMI in *Riv. Europ.*, XI. (1880), 361 *seq.*, 367 *seq.* The same, L. BUFALINI, Florence, 1880. A medal of Pius IV. records the alteration in the course of the Savio in the Romagna (*Sapio intra novum alveum coercito*); see BONANNI, I., 288; VENUTI, 121.

¹ See in App. n. 18, the *letter of Caligari of October 22, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

² *Cf.* P. TIEPOLO, 196.

³ *Cf.* in App. nn. 15, 17, the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ *Cf.* L. PETI, *De mensuris et ponderibus Romanis et Graecis*, Rome, 1573, 113 *seq.*; P. TIEPOLO, 196; BONANNI, I., 280; NIBBY, *Roma mod.*, II., 12; LANCIANI, III., 235 *seq.*; BERTOCCHI, *L'acque e acquedotti di Roma*, Rome, 1879, 23 *seq.*; ROCCHI, 212 *seq.*

⁵ See BELTRAMI in *Riv. Europ.* XI., (1880), 371 *seq.*

⁶ See *acta consist. September 19, 1561, Corsini Library, Rome, 40-A-13, p. 123.

⁷ See the *Avviso di Roma of April 25, 1562 (Urb. 1039, p. 358b, Vatican Library), and the *report of Tonina of April 2, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

linking up with the work of Nicholas V., the first Pope of the Renaissance.¹ Unfortunately Pius IV. did not live to see his efforts crowned with success; the man to whom the undertaking was entrusted, Antonio Treviso, let it drag on with incomprehensible and blameworthy indolence, and the disputes which he entered upon were not yet finished when the Pope died.²

His plan of restoring the Acqua Vergine was connected with Pius IV.'s intention of bringing back life and prosperity to the hill district which had been deserted since the time of Gregory VII., but the fulfilment of this great work too was reserved for another Pope. Nevertheless Pius IV. had the satisfaction of seeing his capital enter upon an era of improvement. All writers are at one in recognizing the great credit due to him for the revival and adornment of Rome. As early as 1563 the number of the inhabitants had increased to 80,000, and a commemorative medal was struck, with the inscription: *Roma resurgens*.³ Luigi Contarini wrote in 1569: "If this eminently praiseworthy Pope had lived for another four years, Rome, thanks to his buildings, would have become a new city."⁴ The shortness of the pontificate was also the reason why Pius IV. did not continue the erection of the palace, planned on so grandiose a scale, to house the courts and the legal offices of the city in the Via Giulia, which

¹ See BACCI, *Del Tevere*, Rome, 1576, 30. Cf. also the eulogies showered on the improvements in the streets made by Pius IV., especially the Via Pia, in the guide, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (1563). See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 422, n. 3.

² See PETI, *loc. cit.*; BONANNI, I., 280; BELTRAMI, *loc. cit.*, 372 *seq.*

³ See *acta consist. June 27, 1561 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in App. n. 12. On September 19, 1561, a "contributio cardinalium pro aqua Salonis" was decided upon (*ibid.*). Cf. GIROL. SORANZO, 83; VENUTI, 113; also GAMUCCI, *Antichità*, 116, 134, 182, 192, and Epist. P. Manutii, Venice, 1573, 345.

⁴ CONTARINI, *Antichità*, 41. Cf. the verses of MASSON, *De episc. Urbis* 412, which LANCIANI (III., 212) thinks are fully justified; to me they seem exaggerated.

had been designed by Bramante, and which had only reached the commencement of the first floor in the time of Julius II.¹

Pius IV. took an active part in the completion of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In 1555 the Roman senator, Prospero Boccapaduli, had made great efforts to get the Senate to take in hand the plans which Michelangelo had designed in 1538, but which had only been carried out to a very small extent. At length, however, in the spring of 1563, through the personal intervention of the Pope, the work, which it would appear had been commenced in 1560, took a more favourable turn. After a banquet which the Romans gave to Pius IV. at the Capitol on March 21st, he took the necessary steps; Boccapaduli was named superintendent in 1564, and Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi appear as architects between 1560 and 1577.²

Between the years 1561 and 1564 Pius IV. erected a new palace in the Via Flaminia near the monumental fountain of Julius III.; this was designed by Pirro Ligorio.³ Restorations and improvements were also carried out in the Palace of Paul III. on the Capitol,⁴ in the passage leading thence to

¹ For this important project, hitherto unknown, which twice occupied the attention of Pius IV., see in App. nn. 13, 26, the account of Fr. Tonina in his *reports of July 15, 1561, and July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² Cf. RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 87 *seq.*, as well as O. POLLAK in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Architektur*, III. (1910), 201 *seqq.* and in the gazette of the *Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrb. der K.K. Zentralkommission*, 1910, 165 *seq.* The account of the intervention of Pius IV., till then quite unknown, was found in the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 11, 1563, where, after speaking of the banquet, he says: "S. B. ordinò poi circa la fabrica che si ha da fare nel palazzo de Conservatori, et disse quello che era di parer et di voler suo" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

³ Cf. BALESTRA, *La fontana pubblica di Giulio III. et il palazzo di Pio IV. sulla Via Flaminia*, Rome, 1911, 16, 23, *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

⁴ See CASIMIRO, *S. Maria in Araceli*, Rome, 1736, 469; VETTER, *Aracoeli*, Rome, 1886, 73 *seq.*; NOVAES, VII., 46; LANCIANI, III., 230; DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 104.

S. Marco,¹ and above all in the Palazzo Colonna, near the church of SS. Apostoli, which was the dwelling of Cardinal Borromeo. All these works were on a considerable scale, and the expense involved was very great; the Pope took much personal interest in them.² At the Villa Magliana he erected a fountain in very good taste,³ and another near the Porta Cavalleggieri.⁴ The assistance which he gave to the Roman College, which the Jesuits were building for their successful educational establishment, was of great value.⁵ The work of education was also promoted by the establishment of a college at Bologna, and new buildings at the university of Bologna, on the entrance gates of which the name of Pius IV. may still be read. Begun in March, 1562, this building, which is distinguished alike by its beauty and its size, and which marked the opening of a new era in the University of Bologna, was ready for occupation by October, 1563. This was principally due to the energy of Pier Donato Cesi, who was in charge of the government of the city as vice-legate of Cardinal Borromeo. The pontificate of Pius IV. and the legation of his nephew are also memorable for Bologna for other reasons; besides the Piazza del Nettuno with its celebrated statue on the fountain of Giambologna, they saw the erection of the beautiful façades of the Palazzo dei Banchi and the Ospedale della Morte, as well as the fountain at the Palazzo Pubblico.⁶

¹ Cf. in LANCIANI, III., 230, the account of Fr. Tonina in the *letter of August 9, 1561: "S.S.^là s'è ritirata ad Araceli, al qual loco passa da S. Marco per il corri [doro], che già Paolo IV. fece guastare et il quale essa ha fatta rinovare" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

² See in Vol. XV. of this work, p. 414, the *report of Tonina of August 12, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

³ Cf. Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XXII., 483, 485; FORCELLA, XIII., 105.

⁴ See TOMASSETTI, Campagna, II., 478.

⁵ Cf. NEHER, Statistik, 45.

⁶ Cf. MASINI, Bologna perlustrata, Bologna, 1666. I., 199, 526; III., 217; VENUTI, 118 seq., 120; BONANNI, I., 280 seq., 287; G. B. GUIDICINI, Monografia sull'Archiginnasio di Bologna (p.p. F. D. Guerrazzi), Bologna, 1870, 17 seq.; F. CAVAZZA, Le

Pius IV. showed his care for the churches of the Eternal City on June 27th, and again on August 8th, 1561, by laying an obligation on the Cardinals to restore their titular churches.¹ He himself carried out restorations in the Sistine Chapel, at the Pantheon, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, SS. Andrea e Gregorio

scuole dell'antico Studio Bolognese, Milan, 1896, 231 *seqq.*, 243 *seq.* (Ant. Terribilia architect of the new building), 250 *seqq.* For the fountain of Neptune, see the monographs of P. PATRIZI, *Il Gigante*, Bologna, 1897, and *Il Giambologna*, Milan, 1905, 61 *seq.* Cf. also SUPINO in *Arte e Storia*, XXX. (1911), 65 *seq.* In his discourse on the new building of the Bologna University Sebastiano Regoli says that in ancient times they would have placed the Pope, the legate and his representative among the Gods (CAVAZZA, *loc. cit.*, 245 *seqq.*). The city of Milan owes to Pius IV. the restoration of the college of jurists (see VENUTI, 116 *seq.*; BONANNI, I., 175 *seq.*; BERTOLOTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 66) and the palace (pulled down in 1867) in the Via Brera (cf. BELTRAMI in *Arch. stor. dell'arte*, II., 57 *seq.*). In the duomo at Milan, to which the Pope made rich gifts, he erected a magnificent mausoleum to his brother Giangiacomo; cf. VASARI, VII., 539 *seq.*; BERTOLOTI, *loc. cit.*, I., 301; PLON, *Leoni*, 150 *seq.*, 304 *seq.*; FREY, *Briefe an Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1899, 389; CALVI, *Famiglie Milan*, IV., tav. 15, and AMBROSOLI in *Roma e Lombardia*, Castello Sforzesco, 1903, 142 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, where there is also a special biography.

¹ See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) in App. nn. 12, 14; P. TIEPOLO, 196; PANVINIUS, *Vita Pii IV.*; MORONI, XLI., 230. Pius IV. renewed the order of Paul IV. against such monuments as caused a dislocation in the churches (cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 413, n.): *"1561 nel mese di Novembre furono levati tutti li depositi delli corpi morti che stavano in alto nelle chiese." (Cola di Coleine, *Diario*, Chigi Library, Rome, N-II.-32). See FORCELLA, I., 197; SICKEL, *Konzil*, 310; *Arch. stor. Ital.*, 3 series, IX., 1, 87. Cardinal Borromeo took the same steps at Milan: *"Die 8 novembris [1565] Sepulchra omnia ducum et aliorum principum, quae erant in sublimi parte ecclesiae cathedralis collocata, ex commissione ill^{mi} cardinalis Borromei fuerunt deorsum missa nocturno tempore." *Diarium* of L. Bondonus in *Miscell. Arm.*, XII., 29, p. 415 (Papal Secret Archives).

in clivo Scauri, S. Marta, SS. Quattro Coronati, SS. Apostoli, S. Chiara, and especially at the Lateran. In the principal nave of the latter basilica, the name and arms of the Pope are still resplendent in the middle of the magnificent carved wooden roof, as a reminder of the pontiff who adorned his cathedral church with this splendid work of art.¹

¹ Cf. LANCIANI, III. 74, 212, 238. For the restoration works at the Sistine Chapel see STEINMANN, II., 780, for the works at the Pantheon the *report of Fr. Tonina of Feb. 18, 1562 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, in App. n. 23; cf. n. 24). See *ibid.* n. 35, the *brief of November 10, 1563 (Papal Secret Archives) referring to the restoration of SS. Quattro Coronati. For the roof of the Lateran see FORCELLA, VIII., 32. Cf. THODE, V., 189; ROHAULT DE FLEURY, 264 *seq.*; NOHL, *Tagebuch einer ital. Reise* herausg. von. Lübke, Stuttgart, 1877, 183 *seq.* For the care of Pius IV., for the Lateran basilica and the baptistry see also CRESCIMBENI, *L'istoria di S. Giovanni avanti Porta Latina*, Rome, 1716, 367 *seq.*, and especially LAUER, 312 *seq.*, 602 *seq.*, planche XXV. See also in App. n. 20, the *Avviso di Roma of November 8, 1561 (Vatican Library). In 1562 the Pope restored the hospital of St. Antonio (FORCELLA, XI., 128) and the Ponte di S. Maria (LANCIANI, II., 24). For the erection of the church and house for penitent women in 1563, to which the Pope was led by Charles Borromeo, see LANCIANI, IV., 73. For the restoration of the statue of S. Hypolitus see *Mél. d'archéol.*, 1895, 481. In the same year the Pope helped by a gift of money to build the dome of the cathedral of Foligno; see L. IACOBILLI, *Croniche di Foligno, a manuscript in the possession of Faloci-Pulignani at Foligno. Among the Cardinals, Cesi, who died on January 29, 1565, was distinguished for building churches; he erected S. Caterina de' Funari. His body was buried at S. Maria Maggiore "*ubi pulcherrimam capellam construxerat, aliam similem in S. Maria de pace erexerat. . . . Fuit vir elemosinarius,*" says Bondonus (*Diarium in Miscell.*, Arm. XII., 29, Papal Secret Archives). Cesi left a legacy for the completion of the chapel in St. Maria Maggiore, see the *report of Fr. Priorato of January 3, 1565 (State Archives, Modena). Mention may here be made of the richly decorated chapel in S. Maria in Trastevere erected by Cardinal Mark Sittich, although it was only built after the pontificate of Pius IV. There, over the altar, Pasquale Cati da Iesi painted Pius IV. with Cardinal

One of the most important artistic undertakings of Pius IV. was his transformation of the best preserved part of the Baths of Diocletian into a great church. The first idea of this probably came from Antonio del Duca, a Sicilian priest who was filled with zeal for the cultus of the angels, and who, as early as 1550, with the permission of Julius III., erected a chapel in honour of Our Lady, Queen of Angels, in the Terme. Very soon, however, to the great sorrow of del Duca, the violence of the Roman wastrels in those ruins brought the work to an end. All the greater was his joy, therefore, when Pius IV. once more took up the scheme, in which he was certainly influenced by the idea of repopulating the deserted region of Monti.¹

It was, however, by no mere chapel, but with a magnificent church that these ruins of the mighty edifice erected by the most terrible of the persecutors of Christianity were to be made subject to the Nazarene who had overcome him, all the more fittingly as the Emperor had employed the forced labour of thousands of his victims in its construction. Condivi and

Mark Sittich; frescoes on the side walls, containing many portraits, represent a session of the Council and the nomination of the nephew as Cardinal (*cf.* BAGLIONE, *Vite de' pittori*, Naples, 1733, 64 *seq.*, 84, 105, 147, 190). Further light may be thrown upon the artists employed by the Cardinal by the family archives at Gallese, which have not as yet been put in order, or by the Serbelloni-Busca Archives at Como.

¹ The connection of Antonio del Duca with the cultus of the angels, and with the Baths of Diocletian has been described, to some extent in the form of anecdotes, by M. Catalani (see CANCELLIERI, *De secret.*, II., 1024 *seq.*, and the same, *Le terme Diocleziane*, in *Cod. Vatic. 9160): *cf.* BARACCONI, 136 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, and LANCIANI, II., 136 *seq.* The inscription on the tomb of A. del Duca is given wrongly by Forcella, and more correctly in Baracconi *loc. cit.* The *decree of Julius III. for the foundation of the chapel is dated August 10, 1550; see *Cod. Vatic. 9160, p. 53. In what a deserted state the Terme were may be seen from the following statement in a *letter of Mula of August 17, 1500: " Sono stati giustitiati due monetarii che hanno fatte nelle terme di Diocleziano assai monete false." (State Library, Vienna).

even more fully, Vasari, tell how Pius IV. ordered a competition of all the best architects for this work, and how the aged Michelangelo was the victor. The Pope and his whole court, says Vasari, were lost in admiration at Michelangelo's solution of the problem.¹ The master destined for the nave of the new church the central vaulted hall of the Terme, the *tepidarium*, which was certainly still in a good state of preservation with its eight colossal columns of red syenite. He placed the entrance in front of the choir in a small adjoining hall to the south-east, that is, to say, in the direction of the modern central railway-station of Rome. Two lateral halls to the south-west and north-east and in the middle of the great central hall were to form the arms of the cross of the basilica; four further halls, the entrance to which was between the columns dividing the side wall, were intended to form as many chapels. There was also to be a side entrance towards the modern Piazza delle Terme. In the middle of the XVIIIth century this was made into the principal entrance, the space intended for that purpose by Michelangelo being walled in and made into a chapel. The result of this absurd alteration is that to-day, when we enter the church we no longer have before us the mighty hall of the Terme in all its length, and the grand effect intended by Michelangelo is destroyed. There is, however, reason to hope that the old form may be restored to it,² a thing which some day will make this church, after St. Peter's, the most effective and imposing in the Eternal City.³

On the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, August 5th, 1561, the Pope went with a retinue of twenty Cardinals to the Baths of

¹ VASARI, 260 *seq.*; Cf. CONDIVI, 100; DAELLI, n. 37. See also TITI, *Descrizione*, 286 *seq.*, and C. RICCI in *Bollett. d'arte*, III. (1909), 362 *seqq.*, where are reproduced the drawings which G. A. Dosio made of the great hall before it was changed into a church; *ibid.* 370 the drawing by Dosio of the entrance intended by Michelangelo for the new church of S. Maria degli Angeli. Cf. BARTOLI, 77-79.

² See C. RICCI, *loc. cit.* For the changes of Vanvitelli, cf. GURLITT, *Gesch. des Barockstils in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1887, 538.

³ Cf. GAMUCCI, *Antichità*, 114.

Diocletian, and, on the spot where the high altar was to stand, laid the first stone of the new church, which was to be dedicated to Our Lady, Queen of Angels.¹ In several briefs the Pope points out how the Terme, which had been built by the sweat of the Christians for the service of pagan sensuality by an infidel tyrant and a bitter enemy of the Church, was now to be used for the worship of Almighty God, and to encourage the piety of the faithful.² A coin was struck with the inscription: "What once was used for pagan purposes is now a temple of the Virgin; its founder was Pius; take flight, ye demons!"³

The care of the divine worship in S. Maria degli Angeli was given to the Carthusians, who took possession of a convent close by, which, with its great cloister adorned with a hundred columns of travertino formed a worthy counterpart to the new church.⁴ In the middle of the cortile may still be seen the remains of the hoary cypresses which tradition says were planted by the hand of Michelangelo, the creator of this foundation. Since the previous monastery of the Carthusians near S. Croce could only be inhabited during the summer months with risk to life, on account of the bad climate, the Order had an interest of its own in the new building, and promised the Pope a considerable contribution towards the expense of its erection.⁵ The latter gave the Carthusians

¹ See BONDONUS, 524 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *De secret.*, II., 1027. Cf. *Avviso di Roma of August 9, 1561 (Urb. 1039, p. 293b, Vatican Library), which records that Pius IV. had on August 6, 1561, prohibited under pain of excommunication "che in detto luoco non vi si vada a giocar ne con cocchi ne cavalli."

² See the brief of March 10, 1562, in RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 189. The *brief of November 2, 1564, to the nuncio in Spain is to the same effect (Papal Secret Archives); see App. n. 38.

³ See BONANNI, I., 284.

⁴ The Certosa near Florence was taken as a model. Cf. LETAROUILLY, III., 316, 317; THODE, V., 185.

⁵ See the *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1561: "I frati Certosini han promesso a S.S^{ta} dispendere 40^m ducati in una fabrica nuova che la vuol fare per la chiesa nuova dei martiri che

proprietary rights over the Terme, disallowing any claims which the city of Rome might make in the future.¹

The building of S. Maria degli Angeli was only finished in 1566.² Pius IV. had visited the new church in July, 1564, and on that occasion he pointed out to the Cardinals the chapels which they were to build.³ On May 18th, 1565, he made the church a cardinalitial title, and conferred it upon Cardinal Serbelloni.⁴ He caused Michelangelo to design a tabernacle for the high altar, which was cast in bronze by the Sicilian, Jacopo del Duca.⁵

Pius IV.'s high esteem for Michelangelo was shown in his attitude towards the hostility which the aged master still had to face in his capacity as architect of St. Peter's. The election capitulation had bound Pius IV. to work zealously for the completion of St. Peter's,⁶ but no such incentive was necessary

la sia poi di loro et che il Papa l'habia del resto a far finire a spese sue proprie" (Urb. 1039, p. 292, Vatican Library). According to the *brief of November 2, 1564 (see App. n. 38) the contribution was given for the building of the convent.

¹ Cf. the bull of July 27, 1561, in full in the *Editti, I., n. 140 of the Casanatense Library Rome, and in part in LACIANI, II., 136 (cf. III., 230), in an Italian translation in *Cod. Vatic. 9160, Vatican Library. Cf. also RODOCANACHI, *Antiquités*, 127.

² Cf. LACIANI, II., 137, who like Rodocanachi (*loc. cit.*) places the commencement of the work, on the strength of the account books, in April, 1563. According to the *letters of Caligari of August 30 and October 11, 1561 (Papal Secret Archives; see App. n. 16, 17) and the *brief of November 2, 1564 (App. n. 38) an earlier commencement of the work would seem to be indicated.

³ "S.B^{ne} attende tutta via a queste sue fabriche et una di queste mattine andete alla chiesa di S. Maria dell'Angeli, che si fa nelle therme Diocletiane et li elesse di molte capelle che voule che diversi cardinali fabrichino." Letter of Fr. Tonina from Rome, July 8, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁴ See *Acta consist. Cam., IX., 120 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

⁵ See VASARI, VII., 261; DAELLI, n. 37; THODE, I., 468; V., 183.

⁶ See LE PLAT, IV., 613.

in his case, since he was determined to forward that undertaking¹ with all the energy of his predecessors.² Motives of piety came to the assistance of his natural love of building; he was determined that the burial place of the first Pope should be completed, whatever the cost might be.³ As Panvinio relates, Pius IV. assigned monthly payments to the new building;⁴ on March 1st, 1560, he confirmed the privileges of the Fabbrica,⁵ and saw to it that the legacies for the basilica

¹ See *Acta consist. June 27, 1561 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) (see App. n. 12). Cf. Bull. bas. Vat., III., 35 seq.

² Cf. Vols. V.-XIV. of this work. As far as Paul IV. is concerned, he certainly at first had the best intentions of energetically going on with the building of St. Peter's. In the *Confirmatio privilegiorum et indulgentiarum fabricae principis apostol.*, dated Rome, June 24, 1555, the Pope says: "Post nostram ad summi apostolatus officii assumptionem toto cordis affectu semper mente recolimus, celeberrimam divi Petri apostolorum principis basilicam, quae in admirabilem consurgit structuram, prout tenemur, debito fine terminare, ne desertis aedificiis quod iam factum est, pereat et tantum opus tanta pecuniarum vi excitatum frustra corruat." (Privilegia, indulgentiae fabricae princ. Apost. S. Petri de Urbe, Rome 1559, 131; cf. Bull. bas. Vatic., III., 35 seq.). The Pope then persuaded Michelangelo to remain in Rome (see CONDIVI, 99; VASARI, VIII., 235 seq.; GRIMM, II.,⁵ 434 seq., 437. For the relations of Paul IV. with Michelangelo cf. ANCEL, *Le Vatican*, 70 n. 2). But the disturbed political conditions and especially the want of money led to a cessation of all building operations (see VASARI, VII., 257; BROWN, VI., 2, n. 788; EBE, *Spät-Renaissance*, I., 137; THODE, I., 458 seq.; V., 155 seq.) Paul IV.'s care for the restoration of the goods of the basilica of St. Peter's gave occasion for the inscription and the bust, which may still be seen in the passage of the sacristy; see CASTALDO, *Vita del p. Paolo IV.*, Rome, 1615, 160-3.

³ Cf. in App. n. 38, the *brief of November 2, 1564, to the nuncio in Spain. (Papal Secret Archives).

⁴ PANVINIUS, *Vita Pii*, IV. For the sums expended see FEA, *Notizie*, 36.

⁵ The bull "Praeclarum opus fabricae basil. principis Apost." in the Barberini Library, Stamp. TTT, II., 16, p. 274. The conditions of the time were not favourable for collecting money.

were applied to their proper purpose.¹ In May, 1562, however, in order to prevent abuses, he found himself obliged to abrogate the privileges of the commissioners of the Fabbrica, as far as indulgences and other faculties were concerned.² On the other hand he showed his solicitude for the Fabbrica in 1565 by exempting it from the taxes which it had had to pay ever since the time of Leo X.³ A bull of June 20th, 1564, dealt with the goods belonging to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.⁴

How great a personal part Pius IV. took in the completion of St. Peter's may be seen from the hitherto unknown evidence contained in a report of the Duke of Mantua's Roman agent, dated March 29, 1561. He says that on the 28th the Pope had climbed the dome of St. Peter's and had on the same day inspected the basilica for the second time.⁵

Pius IV. had the joy of seeing such progress made in the works that it could easily be foretold, as a contemporary states, that the new church would be one of the wonders of the world.⁶

Alfonso d'Este refused the request made to him by Cardinal Borromeo on July 3, 1560, to allow the commissaries of the Fabbrica to enter his territory (see CIBRARIO, 33); see the *letier to the Bishop of Anglona dated Ferrara, July 13, 1560 (State Archives, Modena). Brief to Philip II. of May 10, 1561, concerning the help he was asked to give to the commissaries of the Fabbrica in the Low Countries, in BROWN, I., 190.

¹ See the *brief of January 15, 1562, in App. n. 21 (Papal Secret Archives) and the bull of December 18, 1562, in Bull. Rom., VII., 241 *seq.*

² See ŠUSTA, II., 151; *cf.* 167.

³ Decree to "Vitellotio card. Camerario" dated Rome, January 18, 1565, in VESPIGNANIUS, *Compend. privileg. fabricae S. Petri*, Rome, 1762, 88. *Cf.* NICOL. MARIA DE NICOLAIS, *De Vatic. basilica*, Rome, 1817, 18.

⁴ The bull "In supereminenti dignitatis Apost. specula," dated XII. Cal. Iulii 15, 1564, in Editti, Casanatense Library, Rome.

⁵ See in App. n. 8 the *report of Fr. Tonina of March 29, 1561 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

⁶ PANVINIUS, *Vita Pii, IV.* For Pius IV.'s plan of having St. Peter's decorated by G. della Porta, see Mél. d'archéol., IX., 68.

The aged Michelangelo remained supreme director of the works. Pius IV. not only confirmed him in his former position as architect of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, but also restored to him a great part of the revenues which had been taken away from him by Paul IV.¹ Even more important was the effectual protection from his enemies which he gave him. These enemies gave him no rest; the beginning of the new pontificate seemed to them a suitable moment for recommencing their manœuvres. Since Michelangelo was in his eighty-sixth year, and the strength of but few men at that advanced age is capable of heavy work, it was not difficult to make even the well-disposed members of the Fabbrica, such as Cardinal Carpi, believe that the old man was no longer fit to discharge his duties. Statements to this effect reached the ears of Michelangelo, who accordingly, on September 13th, 1560, addressed a letter to his old friend the Cardinal, in which he expresses his surprise that even Carpi should have lent an ear to such nonsense. He continues: "this matter has pained me very much, both because your lordship has been wrongly informed, and because I, as is my duty, desire more than all men that it should go on well. And I think, if I do not deceive myself, that I can assure you in all truth that as far as the work is going on at present, it could not be going better. But since perhaps my own interests and my old age may be deceiving me, and thus, against my will, cause injury or prejudice to the building, I intend, as soon as possible, to ask leave from his Holiness to retire; moreover, to save time, I wish to ask, as I now do, your most illustrious and reverend lordship, to be so good as to set me free from this burden; at which, as your lordship knows, I have, by the command of the Popes, worked gratis for seventeen years. It can plainly be seen how much has been accomplished on the said building during that time by my labours. Once more I earnestly beg of you to accept my resignation, feeling that you could not by any act do me a more signal service. With

¹ VASARI, VII., 257. Cf. FANFANI, *Spigolat. Michel.* (1876), 143 *seq.*

all reverence, I humbly kiss the hand of your most illustrious and reverend lordship. Michelangelo Buonarroti.”¹

Pius IV. did not dream of accepting the resignation of Michelangelo. His appreciation of the great master was again shown by the fact that he chose his plans, among all the others, for the Baths of Diocletian and the Porta Pia. In April, 1562, he made him a present of 200 gold scudi.²

In spite of all these manifest signs of favour on the part of the Pope, the opposition to Michelangelo did not cease. It started with Nanni Bigio, who made use of every possible means to obtain the honourable and important office of architect of St. Peter's. His unscrupulous ambition was successful once more in 1563 in winning over the commission for the Fabbrica. When in August of the same year the aged Michelangelo appointed as superintendent of St. Peter's the youthful but extremely capable Pier Luigi Gaeta in the place of the murdered Cesare da Casteldurante, the deputies of the Fabbrica refused their consent. Michelangelo, irritated at this infringement of his rights, held firmly to his nomination of Gaeta, and in his easily understandable excitement said to his friends that if it were not accepted he would retire from the building. His enemies then thought that they had won the day, and that the time was now come to put Nanni Bigio in his place. The old man, they declared, was no longer fit to attend to his duties, and must be given a successor; he had himself said that he did not wish to have anything more to do with the building. But Michelangelo denied any such intention, and charged Daniele da Volterra to explain his attitude to Bishop Ferratini,³ who was a very influential member of the commission. The latter complained that Michelangelo did not tell anyone, not even the members of the commission, about his plans for the building, and was of opinion that it was time a successor was appointed. He then proposed that Volterra

¹ Lettere, ed. Milanesi 558. Cf. GRIMM, II⁵., 442 seq.; GUHL, I., 173.

² THODE, I., 469.

³ Cf. for him K. FREY in Beiheft of vol. 37 of the Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml., p. 45, n. 1.

should take his place, and Michelangelo agreed. But at the meeting of the deputies, Ferratini proposed, if we can believe Vasari, not Volterra but Nanni Bigio ; it is, at any rate certain that the commission appointed Nanni Bigio without consulting Michelangelo. Bigio, happy in having at last attained his end, at once issued orders for the building, which showed that he looked upon himself as absolute master there.

Michelangelo was beside himself ; he could think of no other course than to go to see the Pope. He met him in the Piazza del Campidoglio. The angry artist complained bitterly of the proceedings of the commission of the Fabbrica, tendered his resignation, and announced his intention of going to Florence, whither the Duke had warmly invited him. The Pope, disconcerted and grieved, tried to soothe the old man and promised to inquire into the matter thoroughly. For this purpose a meeting of the deputies of the Fabbrica was summoned in the palace near the Ara Coeli, and an exhaustive inquiry was made by unprejudiced parties under the presidency of Gabrio Serbelloni. The outcome of this was that Bigio had to retire from his office, although this was effected as kindly as possible, by indemnifying him for his short term of office, which had lasted hardly a month. The Pope himself then named the architect Francesco da Cortona as successor to Michelangelo ; neither Michelangelo nor the deputies of the Fabbrica could feel offended at this skilful expedient. In this way did Pius IV. once more display his great diplomatic skill, even in this artistic controversy. Even though the appointment of Cortona implied a usurpation of Michelangelo's rights, the latter could not take exception to it, since the Pope was the supreme arbiter. Pius IV. quite reconciled the master to the change by ordering that not the slightest deviation should be made from the plans of Michelangelo.¹

The many persecutions which Michelangelo had suffered had

¹ See VASARI, VII., 264-6 and especially FREY, *loc. cit.*, 45-7, who puts more fairly Vasari's evidently biassed and artificial story.

not been able to cool his zeal for his direction of the building of the new St. Peter's, a work which he had taken upon himself without any reward, and purely from religious motives, "for the love of God, and out of veneration for the Prince of the Apostles." The self denial and the determination with which, in spite of all opposition, he remained true to his great purpose, gives a truly tragic consecration to his closing years.¹ He did not shut his eyes to the fact that he would never see the completion of his gigantic task. In order to ensure above all the carrying out of his dome, he had already in the time of Paul IV., at the instance of his friends, especially Cardinal Carpi and Donato Giannotti, begun to make a model in clay, from which was made the larger one in wood, which is still preserved in St. Peter's, and which gives all the measurements exactly.² How far the building had progressed under Michelangelo can only be decided after a fuller examination of the archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's.³ Judging by the accounts and drawings at present available, it may be stated as certain that when the master died the drum was almost finished, the south arm and the

¹ Opinion of JOVANOVIĆ, *Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche*, Vienna, 1877, 113.

² Cf. GOTTI, II., 136; GEYMÜLLER, *Michelangelo als Architekt*, 39; THODE, I., 459, 463, 466; V., 155 *seq.*, 163 *seqq.*; *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXX. (1909), Beiheft, p. 171 *seq.*; XXXVII., p. 81 *seq.*

³ The archivium of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, in the rearrangement of which its president, Mons. de Bisogno, and Fr. F. Ehrle have done great service, was recently examined from the point of view of the history of art by KARL FREY and OSCAR POLLAK (who fell on the Italian front on June 11, 1915, after he had been a year previously appointed assistant for the history of art in the Austrian historical institute in Rome), *Ausgewählte Akten zur Geschichte der römischen Peterskirche, 1535-1621*, in Beiheft to vol. 36 of the *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, Berlin, 1915, where on p. 56 *seq.* and 109 are given the account books of the time of Pius IV. The information of K. FREY is given in Beiheft to vol. 37, p. 22 *seq.*

south tribune were quite complete, and the north tribune nearly so.¹

At the end of August, 1561, Michelangelo had a serious warning of his approaching death in a dangerous attack, but he was able to look death tranquilly in the face, since he had always, as a faithful son of the Church, scrupulously fulfilled the duties and practices which she inculcates, with a deep conviction of their necessity and usefulness as the means of salvation.²

The vitality of the master, however, was not yet exhausted. He rapidly recovered from his attack, and within a few days was able to go out on horseback. The proud determination with which he defended himself against the attacks of the enemies of his building of St. Peter's showed that he was still his old self. He continued to work with his chisel, and besides a statue of the Prince of the Apostles, in the dress of the Pope, he employed himself during the autumn and winter, though he was ninety years of age, on a Pietà and a small figure of Christ carrying the Cross.³

¹ Cf. THODE, V., 160, 172, 176. Of great interest and not hitherto used is an account of the work of Michelangelo at St. Peter's, in 1565, given by GAMUCCI (*Antichità*, 197 *seq.*). He says: "Con l'accurezza del suo ingegno l' ha in tal modo abbellita et riordinata col suo disegno che in alcuna parte non le manca ne ordine ne dispositione ne compartimento ne decoro, secondo che ricerca una cosa di tanta importanza et l' ha in tal modo lasciata inviata che potranno gl' architettori promettersi senza sospetto d' haverla a condurre alla sua intera perfettione secondo il disegno et modello da lui lassato non ostante che vi sieno restati i più importanti membri da finire che si ricerchino in tutta quella opera."

² FREY, Michelangelo Buonaroti, Berlin, 1907, 193, who goes on to remark: "Like Luca Landucci he withdrew from the excommunicated Savonarola, and Luther's declarations and objects were entirely incomprehensible to him, as well as anti-pathetic." So also JUSTI, Michelangelo. *Neue Beiträge*, Berlin, 1909, brings out Michelangelo's entirely Catholic sentiments (p. 425).

³ Michelangelo had been at work on the Pietà all day long on February 12, 1564, standing all the time; see the letter of Daniele da Volterra of June 11, 1564, in DAELLI, n. 34. Cf. THODE, I., 474, 475; GOTTI, I., 358.

On February 14th, 1564, the friends of Michelangelo and indeed all Rome were alarmed by the news that the great master was seriously ill. The slow fever which had attacked him was worse on the following day, but in spite of this the sick man was able to get up and sit by his fire. By February 16th he was unable to leave his bed, and on the 18th, at five in the afternoon, an hour before the bells of Rome rang out the *Ave*, he gave up his great soul to his Creator.¹ The next day the body was carried from his studio in the Macel de' Corvi, not far from the Forum of Trajan, to the neighbouring basilica of SS. Apostoli by the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato, to which Michelangelo had belonged for fifty years, his friends, all the artistic world, and his Florentine fellow-countrymen, taking part in the procession. There it was to remain until the monument which the Pope wished to erect to him in St. Peter's was ready.² Michelangelo had expressed the wish to be buried at Florence, his native place, in the vault of his ancestors at S. Croce,³ and his nephew Lionardo carried out this wish. As there was reason to fear opposition on the part of the Romans, Lionardo removed the body secretly, under the guise of merchandise, to Florence, which was reached on March 11th. The next day, the second Sunday in Lent, the removal of the body to S. Croce and the burial took place. The president of the Florentine academy had the coffin opened; the features showed no change whatever; dressed in black damask, the spurred shoes on his feet, a cap of felt in the ancient style upon his head, the master lay there

¹ See the letters in DAELLI, n. 27, 28; GOTTI, I., 353 *seq*; GAYE, III., 126. Cf. STEINMANN in *Deutsche Rundschau*, XXXVI. (October 1, 1909), and *Pilgerfahrten*, Leipzig, 1910, 229 *seq*.

² See VASARI, VII., 286; SCHREIBER in *Festgabe für A. Springer*, Leipzig, 1885, 109. In the oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome Iacopo del Conte has painted his great compatriot in the left hand corner of his fresco "The angel announcing to Zachary the birth of the Redeemer"; see STEINMANN, *Porträtdarstellungen* 21 *seq*.

³ See GAYE, III., 132.

as though asleep. Immediately many poems were written to celebrate the place where one of the greatest artists of all time was laid. When on July 14th, 1564, the solemn funeral rites were celebrated at S. Lorenzo, a picture by Pierfrancesco Toschi was hung over the catafalque representing Michelangelo with the model of St. Peter's before Pius IV.¹

It is characteristic of Nanni Bigio that immediately after the death of Michelangelo he renewed his efforts to obtain his office. His petition to the deputies of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's is still preserved ; it is a mixture of humility and pride, and full of open or covert attacks on the great master.² The Pope very properly paid no attention whatever to the document.

The commission of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's had approached the Pope the day after the death of Michelangelo, but Pius IV. refused to come to any decision until after he had given deep consideration to the question who was to succeed the master.³ There was therefore a vacancy of nearly five

¹ Cf. VASARI, VII., 286 *seq.*; GOTTI, I., 361 *seq.*; II., 159; GAYE, III., 133. Esequie del divino Michelangelo Buonarroti celebrate in Firenze dall' Accademia dei pittori, scultori e architetti nella chiesa di S. Lorenzo [July 14, 1564], Florence, 1564; STEINMANN, *Porträtdarst.*, 76 *seq.*; THODE, I., 477, 479. THODE, *ibid.*, 481 *seq.* gives proof that Michelangelo had nothing to do with the monument in the corridor of the convent near SS. Apostoli in Rome, which represents a reclining man, with his head resting on his left arm. The inscription over the monument is a later addition. For the monument at S. Croce see POGATSCHER in *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIX., 414 *seq.*, and STEINMANN, *loc. cit.*, 75 *seq.*; *ibid.*, tav. 91: Domenico Passignani, "Michelangelo shows to Pius IV. the model of St. Peter's." Fresco in the casa Buonarroti.

² In *Cod. Vatic. 3933, p. 57 (Vatican Library): from which it was published by JANITSCHKE in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* II., 418 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the interesting and hitherto unknown *letter of Fr. Tonina, of February 19, 1564, which states: "È di presente morto Michelangelo Bonarotto, la memoria del quale chi lauda per la eccellente virtù, et chi la vitupera, per non havere mai voluto

months. It was only in August, 1564, that Pirro Ligorio was appointed first architect of St. Peter's in the place of Michelangelo, receiving a monthly stipend of 25 gold scudi; Michelangelo had received twice that sum. Jacopo Vignola appears as second architect, and associated with him, in the autumn of 1564.¹ A year later both were dismissed from their posts, it was said because, contrary to the Pope's orders, they had not kept to Michelangelo's plans. So far we have no particulars as to the work done by them on the building.² Certainly one of the problems that they had to face was the difficult one of the vaulting of the dome. What an interest the Pope took in this question may be seen from a document which has only recently been published. From this we learn that the Pope presided at the meetings of the deputies of the Fabbrica whenever the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's was under discussion. The meeting decided to ask the opinion of all the most eminent architects in Italy and abroad as to this matter, which was as important as it was difficult. During the discussions Guglielmo della Porta was especially asked for his opinion, since he was the best informed as to the plans of Michelangelo and Sangallo on account of his intimate relations with them.³

The large sums assigned by him to the Fabbrica in 1565 show with what keen energy Pius IV. devoted himself in other ways to the great work.⁴ The ideas of the Pope, who, from his

allevare sotto di se allievo alcuno che lo imitasse. Questa mattina li superiori della fabbrica di S. Pietro sono stati a S.B^{ne} per far sostituire in quel luogo un altro, ma essa non si ha voluto risolvere" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

¹ See K. FREY in Beiheft to vol. 37, of the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., p. 48 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*, 49.

³ See the document from the Papal Secret Archives published by K. FREY in Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XXXIII., 152.

⁴ * "Martedì doppo la capella S.St^a fece una congregatione sopra la fabrica di S. Pietro, alla qual donò il casal di Conca, membro già della badia di Grotta Ferrata, che vale da 40^m ducati." (*Avviso di Roma, of April 28, 1565, Urb. 1040, p. 12b). An

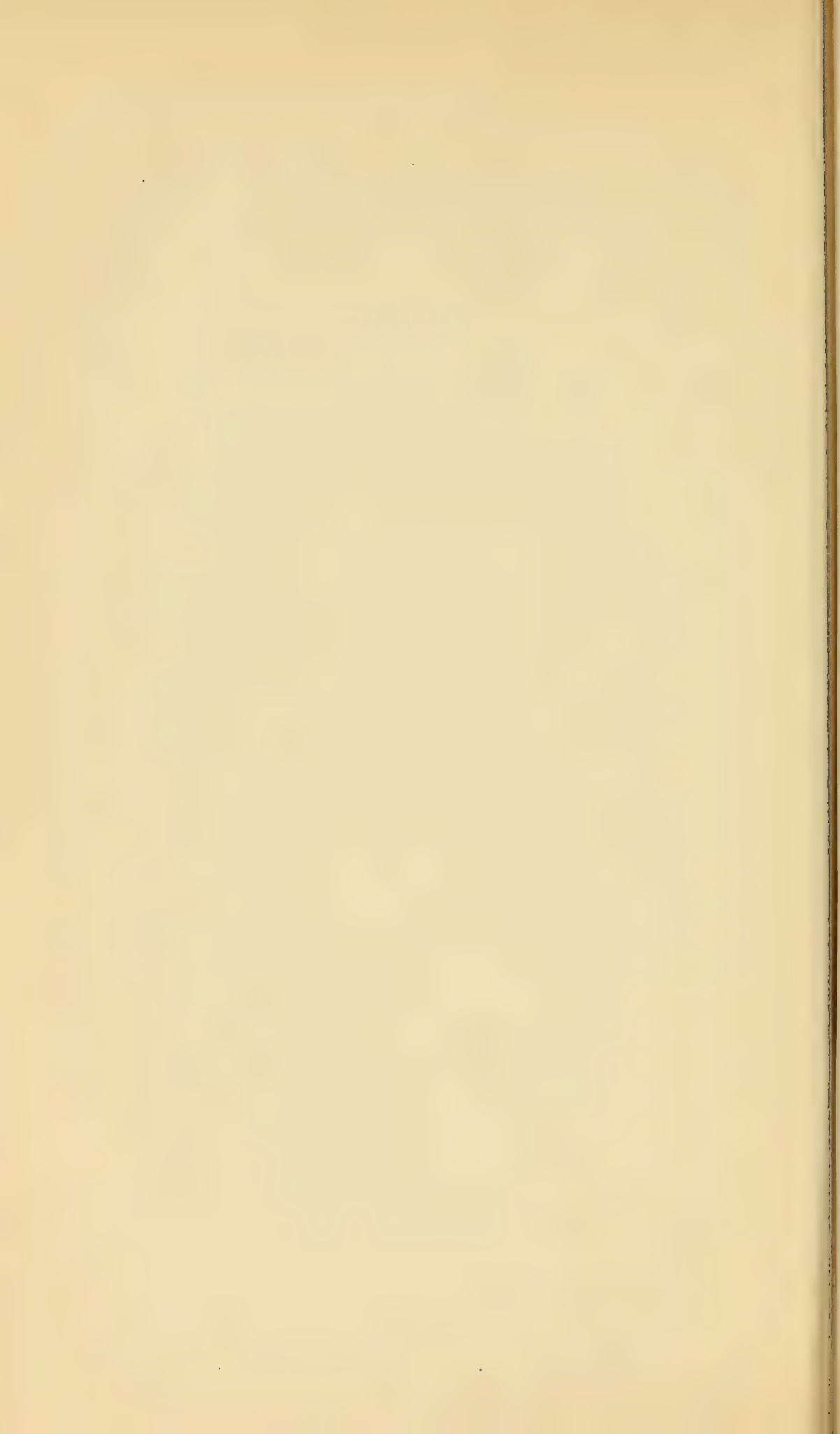
villa in the Vatican Gardens, was well able to watch the progress of the works, went further than that. According to a hitherto unknown document, he had already planned in July, 1564, what it was only granted to a future generation to see realized; namely, to give to the Piazza of St. Peter's, by means of a colonnade, an adornment worthy of the huge dome.¹

Pius IV. retained his keen interest in art to the end of his pontificate. Besides the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, he was always planning new buildings and streets. His projects were so extensive that in a report of June 17th, 1564, Galeazzo Cusano said: "If the Pope lives for a few years longer, he will entirely renew the face of the city of Rome."²

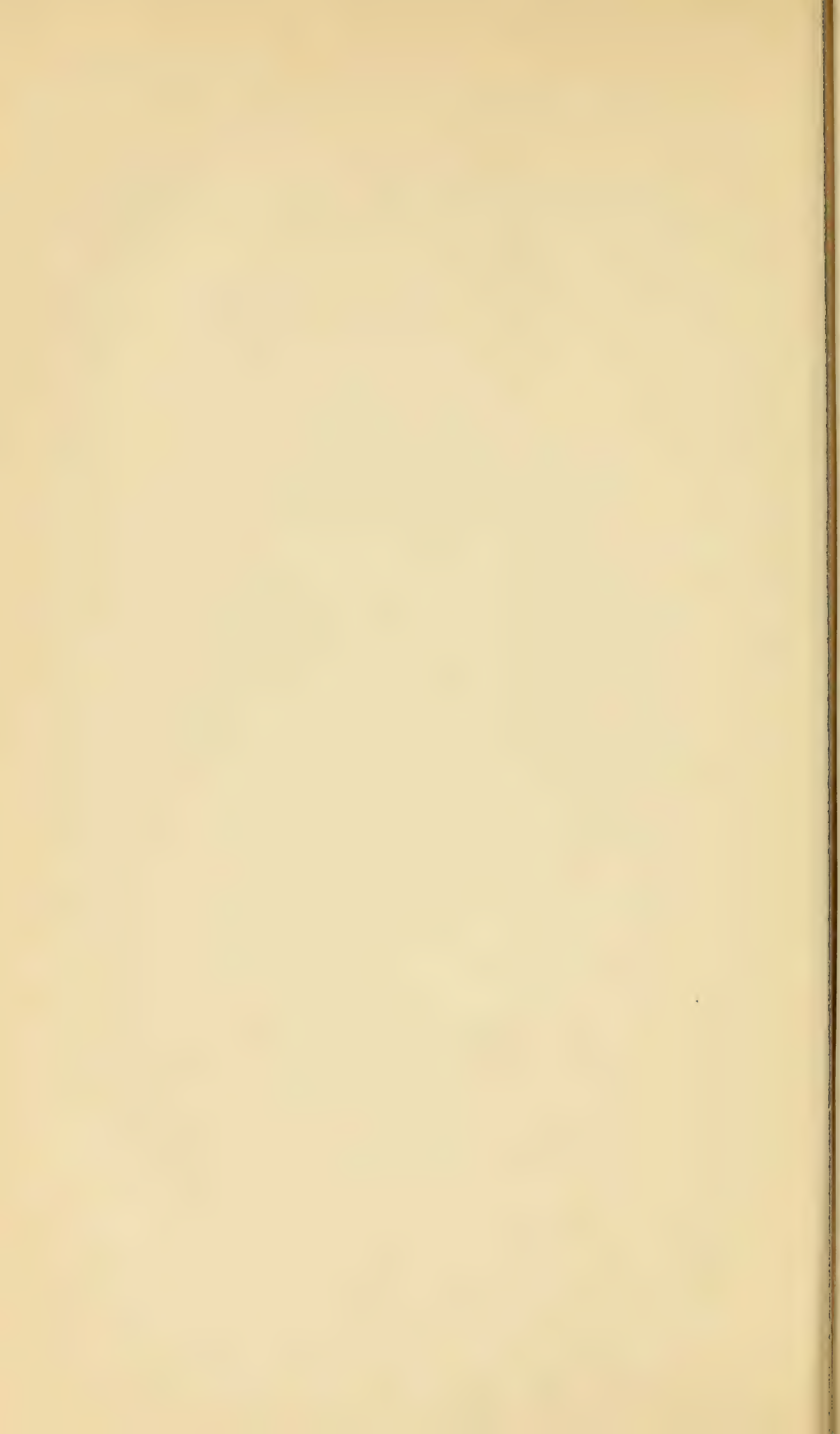
*Avviso di Roma of July 4, 1565, gives an account of a congregation on the building of St. Peter's held on July 3, in the presence of the Pope: "Ordinò S. S^{tà} che li si donassero 6^m scudi dovendosene poi rimborsare sovra Conca." (Vat. 6436, p. 36). In an *Avviso di Roma of October 6, 1565, it is stated: "S. S^{tà} è persuasa da un cardinale, che ha cura di fabbriche di levar tutte le tegole della chiesa di S. Pietro che sono di bronzo et porvi tegole di terra cotta et dice vagliano 80^m ducati; non si sa se lo farà." (Urb. 1040, p. 109, Vatican Library).

¹ See the *report of Fr. Tonina of July 22, 1564 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 36. To prepare for this work they began in 1564 to pull down houses, by which the piazza would be enlarged and beautified. *"Die 20 Novembris [1564] incepta fuit desolatio domorum in platea S. Petri de ordine Papae ad ampliandam plateam et pulchriorem reddendam." *Diarium Firmani* in *Miscell. Arm.*, XII., 29 (Papal Secret Archives).

² *On Tuesday, reports Cusano, the Pope went to the Lateran to celebrate Mass, "et di poi cavalcò per Roma vecchia et tutta la mattina non fece che disegnar strade e fabbriche a tale che se vive ancora qualche anni la innoverà in modo che la non si riconoscerà." (State Archives, Vienna).



APPENDIX
OF
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS
AND
EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES



APPENDIX.

I. POPE PIUS IV. TO THE DOGE.¹

1560, February 22 [Rome].

Reply to his congratulations on the promotion of his two nephews. He hopes that the Catholic religion will be protected in Venice. Since the inquisitor at Venice, Felix da Montalto, O. Min. Convent, fears lest he be hampered in the exercise of his office, we inform you of this in order that you may see to his liberty to do so, and beg you to assist him. We beg you to give orders that Francesco Stella, who is a prisoner with Bishop Michele di Cenada, may be taken to Ancona.

[Min. Brev. in Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 94. Ibid. n. 92, *brief to Michael, episc. Cenetensis: order to have the heretic Francesco Stella "qui apud te custoditur" taken under strong guard to Rome, after Venice shall have given orders for his being sent to Ancona [Papal Secret Archives.]

2. POPE PIUS IV. TO PIER FRANCESCO FERRERI, BISHOP OF VERCELLI, NUNCIO TO VENICE.²

1560, March 29, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Petro Francisco episcopo Vercellensi nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuncio in dominio Venetorum.

Pius Papa quartus.

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Superioribus diebus egimus cum dilecto filio nobili viro duci Venetiarum duabus de rebus. Nam et nobilitatem eius diligenter sumus ut iniquitatis filium Franciscum Stellam, haereticae pravitatis reum, qui apud venerabilem fratrem Michaellem episcopum Cenetensem in custodia habetur, brachii sui saecularis auxilio fidei satellitum manu custoditum quamprimum ad urbem nostram Anconam deduci iuberet, et dilectum Filium Foelicem de Montealto ordinis minorum conventualium, constitutum a nobis istic haereticae pravitatis inquistorem, hominem nobis valde probatum, sed a nonnullis,

¹ *Supra.* p. 342.

² See *supra.* p. 342, n. 2.

ut audimus, eiusdem ordinis sive etiam conventus fratribus, quominus officium suum et mandata nostra exequatur, ad hoc tempus, contra ac decuit impeditum a nobis haberet, eum auctoritate et auxilio suo ut exercere libere ac tuto munus sibi ab Apostolica Sede commissum possit, adiuvaret. Cum autem harum rerum utraque nobis curae sit pro eo ac debet, volumus ut fraternitas tua cum ipsius nobilitate nostris verbis eisdem de rebus agat horteturque eum diligenter ad satisfaciendum desiderio nostro, sicut facturum illum pro suo catholicae fidei studio et in hanc sanctam Apostolicam Sedem observantia et devotione confidimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die vigesima nona martii millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Antonius Florebellus Lavellinus.

[Copy, Arm. 44, t. 10, epist. 130, p. 97^b-98^b. Papal Secret Archives.]

3. CARDINAL GHISLIERI TO THE INQUISITOR OF GENOA.¹

1560, July 26, Rome.

. . . Quanto alle Bibie volgari vadasi ritenutamente concedendole ad alcuni che non siano conosciuti di leggero cervello, pur che siano però delle antiche e non passate per mano di persone et particolarmente di stampatori sospetti, ma che siano dell' antica tradottione.

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

4. CARDINAL GHISLIERI TO THE INQUISITOR OF GENOA.¹

1560, August 9, Rome.

. . . Quanto poi al particolare delle Bibie volgari, le dico che a monache in modo nessuno non si devono concedere ; ma a qualche donna secolare di buona fama et maturità potrassi concedere, andando però tuttavia ritenutamente a tal concessione, tanto a donne quanto a huomini, giudicando prima la qualità della persona a chi s'habbia a concedere tal licenza et considerare quanto pesa ; percioche per non causare qualche errore sarà meglio usare piu tosto difficoltà et scarsità che larghezza, massime in questi tempi.

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

¹ See *supra*, p. 349.

² See *supra*, p. 349.

5. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1561, January 18, Rome.

. . . Andò poi agli horti del già r^{mo} Bellai per vedere una strada nominata dal suo nome, Pia, la qual fa fare giettando a terra case et guastando vigne, et comincia a Monte Cavallo, et finirà alle mure de la città, tra porta Sellara et porta S. Agnese, fra le quai due porte si fabricarà all' iscontro di quella strada una nuova porta, che si chiamerà porta Pia. Tornò poi a palazzo, et nel ritorno andò pur anco a vedere questo disegno della fortificatione di borgo, la quale gli è stata appresso la spesa, dissuasata, per la qualità del terreno il quale è sabbionizzo. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.²

1561, January 25, Rome.

. . . La cagione di questo viaggio è stata per fortificare il detto luoco d' Hostia per il timore che si ha degli infedeli, et insieme anco per provvedere alle innondationi del Tevere, per il che hanno risoluto slargar la bocca di esso fiume la, il che servirà ancho a venire più commodamente le barche a Roma, et altri commodi, che si sono assai ivi quel che intendo, considerati. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7. POPE PIUS IV. TO CARDINAL PIER FRANCESCO FERRERI.³

1561, March 28, Rome.

Audimus haereticae pravitatis reos Guidonem Lanottum Fanensem, qui fe. re. Pauli III praed. nostri tempore sacri inquisitionis officii iudicio fuga se subtraxit, et Nicolaum Spanochium Senensem, qui cum Bononiae esset ipse quoque e carcere aufugit idem ob crimen, ambos istic in carceribus haberi. Quoniam vero magnopere cupimus Romam eos ad ipsum inquisitionis officium deduci, volumus et circumspeditioni tuae mandamus ut cum dil. fil. nob. viro Venet. duce diligenter agas, that the prisoners be taken under strong guard to Ancona.

[Orig. State Archives, Venice, Bolle.]

¹ See *supra*, pp. 431, 436.² See *supra*, p. 428.³ See *supra*, p. 343.

8. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1561, March 29, Rome.

. . . Il Papa hieri mattina andò su la cima de la cubba di S. Pietro et circondò tutta quella fabrica, cosa nella quale un giovane de vint' anni si saria stancato. La sera poi anco tornò in S. Pietro a piedi et ritornò sempre per quelle scale gagliardissimamente. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. POPE PIUS IV. TO HANNIBAL VON HOHENEMS.²

1561, March 31, Rome.

Autograph postscript of the Pope : Noi vi resolvemmo con questa che non bisogna che pensati a ritornare in qua sin che a noi non piacerà, mancho ci sono piaciutte altre cose che voi haveti presunto di la senza haver ne da noi authorita et sopra tutto ne è despiaciuto che habbiati lassato dove vi è parso la spata che mandaramo a Sua M^{ta} come a deffensore nostro et de la fede catholica, ne in cosa alchuna ne havresti potuto far piu despiacer di quello che haveti fatto in questa et nel medesimo si dolemmo ancho del nontio nostro che li doveva provvedere, se voi non volevati ; per canto attendaretì da qui inanti a servir a Sua M^{ta} et a non vi impacciar de le cose nostre et lassar fare al nontio nostro, al[tre]mente la romperemmo in tutto et per tutto con voi, come già la tenemmo per rotta per li vostri mali portamenti. . . .

[Orig. Hohenems Archives.]

10. POPE PIUS IV. TO HANNIBAL VON HOHENEMS.³

1561, May 5, Rome.

Da Don Giovanni d' Ayala havemo ricevuta la vostra di XIII di Marzo et poi l' altra di 3 d' Aprile, a li quali rispondendo con questa vi dicemo che quanto ali negotii che cotesto ser^{mo} Re ha con noi et con questa santa sede non è bisogno che voi ne altri s' intrometta essendo tra noi l' amore et buona intelligentia che tutto il mondo sa. He must not associate himself with Avanzino by undertaking his defence. Havemo ancora da dolerci di voi che non ci habbiate mai scritto il modo che havete tenuto io presentar li doni et come siano stati grati et che cosa vi habbiano risposto sopra di cio quel signori

¹ See *supra*, p. 448.² See *supra* p. 391.³ See *supra*, p. 391.

massime che da nessun di loro ci è stato risposto pur una riga di letera come pur haveriano fatti se li doni fossero stati presentati in nome nostro. Questi fatti non sono atti d'acquistar la gratia nostra, pero vi torniamo a dire che per l'avvenire debbiatè vivere d'altra maniera. . . .

[Orig. Hohenems Archives.]

Ibid., another letter of reproof of similar tenor, dated Rome, May 21, 1561.

II. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1561, June 18, Rome.

La Stà de N.S. ritornò non hieri l'altro de Frascati et venne al giardin suo a Monte Cavallo, dove è stata sino a questa mattina per tempo, neila quale poi accompagnata da molti card^{li} è andata per le strada da lei fatta, nominata Pia, la quale hora è una bellissima strada, havendo quasi tutti che le sono vicini fatte le muraglie belle et alte con vaghissime porte, che portano in quelle vigne, et altri ornamenti, et cosi di longo si ne è ita alle mure della città, dove fa fare la porta Pia et ivi ha fatto la cerimonia solita et poste le prime pietre con diverse medaglie dentro. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

12. CONSISTORY OF 27 JUNE, 1561.²

I. . . . Deputavit similiter rev. S. Angeli, S. Vitalis, Sabellum, Amulium et Camerarium pro provisione et reparatione facienda adversus inundationem Tyberis et per institutionem novi alvei ac alias prout expediens fuerit.

[Copy, Acta consist. Cancell., VIII., 90. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

II. Dixit postea [die 27 iunii] quod intendebat reparare propria pecunia ecclesiam Stⁱ Ioannis Lateranensis, quae minabatur ruinam, et etiam alias ecclesias Urbis, et nihilominus con inuare fabricam Stⁱ Petri et hortata est omnes reverendissimos ut tam in fabricis quam in cultu divino vellent instaurare ecclesias suorum titularum et exponere in illis aliquam partem distributionis pilei; et ad hoc deputavit

¹ See *supra*, pp. 434, 436.

² See *supra*, pp. 438, 441, 447.

reverendissimos dominos Moronum, de la Cueva, Saracenum, Sti Clementis et Stae Fiorae.

[Copy. Acta consist. Camer., IX., 46^b. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

13. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1561, July 15, Rome.

. . . Nel venir che ha fatto questi dì da palazzo a S. Marco è stata a vedere il luogo che già cominciò Giulio II in strada Giulia per porvi tutti gli ufficii, et insieme è stata a vedere le scole publiche, et dice che vuole far finire ambidui essi luochi, il che saria opera lodatissima. Molti credono che sarà una mossa, ma che non si farà poi con effetto. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. CONSISTORY OF 8 AUGUST, 1561.²

In eo consistorio [veneris 8 augusti] papa ante omnia fecit iterum verbum de instaurandis ecclesiis Urbis, quarum principales cum intenderet S.Stas reparare, hortata est reverendissimos ut idem facerent in ecclesiis suorum titulorum tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus, obtulitque se subventuram iis, quibus deesset facultas reparandi: de quo omnes reverendissimi egerunt gratias S. Sti.

[Copy. Acta consist. Camer., IX., 50^b. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.]

15. GIOVANNI ANDREA CALIGARI TO COMMENDONE.³

1561, August 30, Rome.

. . . Qui non è altra cosa di novo se non fabriche grandi. N.S. fa l'altro corridore di Belvedere incontro al primo; finisce di muraglie li bastioni di Castello; conduce d' Antirana [sic!] acqua grossa per servitio del publico; edifica il tempio di Santa Maria da gli Angeli sopra le Terme a gli horti Bellaiani. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi XXIII 69^b. Papal Secret Archives.]

16. AVVISO DI ROMA OF 30 AUGUST, 1561.⁴

. . . S'attende con molta sollicitudine alla fortificatione

¹ See *supra*, p. 439.

² See *supra*, p. 441.

³ See *supra*, pp. 415, 428, 437.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 429, 446.

del castello S. Angelo et alle altre fabbriche et di finire il corridore in palazzo et le stancie principiate nel Belvedere da Paulo IV ha fatto finire et adornate di bellissime statue et fontane. . . .

[Orig. Urb. 1039 p. 296. Vatican Library.]

17. GIOVANNI ANDREA CALIGARI TO COMMENDONE¹.

1561, October 11, Rome.

. . . Nel resto si vive qui molto quietamente et con abbondanza. N. S. fabbrica in molti lochi con grossi[ssi]ma spesa. Conduce dentro di Roma due acque grosse, la Marana e l'acqua di Sciallone, che serviranno per parecchie fontane; fabbrica la porta Pia bellissima nella muraglia per la strada diritta che ha fatto dalli Cavalli fino a Stà Agnese. Si edifica la chiesa di Santa Maria degli Angeli nelle Terme per li frati della Certosa: si fanno i baloardi intorno a Castello secondo l'ordine della fortificatione del sig^r Camillo Orsino. Tira uno altro corridore a Belvedere da torre Borgia al paro del vecchio. Fa una bellissima porta alla porta del Popolo. Cava una conserva d'acqua nel giardino secreto tanto grande che terra trento [sic] o 40^m some d'acqua, et horamai tutto il palazzo è restaurato. Fu finita la fabbrica del bosco di Belvedere et tirata su tutta quella del teatro di Giulio II, dove stava già Pisa, del quale non si parla punto et stassi in Castello.

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 76^b. Papal Secret Archives.]

18. GIOVANNI ANDREA CALIGARI TO COMMENDONE².

1561, October 22, Rome.

. . . N. S. è stato sei di a Civita Vecchia, dove fa fabricare fortezze et tagliar boschi per assicurare le strade da assassini et edificare una torre contro li corsari. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 82^b. Papal Secret Archives.]

19. GIOVANNI ANDREA CALIGARI TO COMMENDONE².

1561, November 8, Rome.

. . . Il sig^r Gabrio ha havuto un breve di andare a rivedere tutte le terre de lo Stato della Chiesa se hanno bisogno di

¹ See *supra*, pp. 415, 420, 428, 435, 437, 446.

² See *supra*, p. 433.

² See *supra*, pp. 432, 437.

fortificatione et come. Menerà con seco monsignore Odescalco, il quale rivederà i tribunali et riformerà dove bisogni.

N. S. ha detto di fare concistoro lunedì prossimo per spedire il cardinale Simoneta al concilio di questa altra settimana. . . .

[Orig. Lettere di principi, XXIII, 85. Papal Secret Archives.]

20. AVVISO DI ROMA OF 8 NOVEMBER, 1561¹.

S. Stà ha ordinato, che sia rifatto il palazzo antiquo di S. Gio. Laterano, volendolo totalmente ridurlo in essere che li pontifici vi possino fermare et alloggiare comodamente et vuole che la soffita della chiesa si facci assai bella, come quella di S. M. Maggiore, il che si farà dell'intrate d'alcune monasterie et chiese di Roma . . . et si fa conto che ne l'haverà meglio di 50^m scudi.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 308^b. Vatican Library.]

21. POPE PIUS IV. TO OTTAVIO FARNESE, DUKE OF
PARMA AND PIACENZA².

1562, January 15, Rome.

Dilecto filio nobili viro

Octavio Farnesiae, Parmae et Placentiae duci.

Pro fabrica Sancti Petri.

Pius papa quartus.

Dilecte fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venerandam Principis Apostolorum basilicam Christianis fidelibus studiosius commendamus, non solum illius honori hoc damus, cui licet indigni in huius sanctae sedis administratione successimus, sed filiis etiam nostris tanti apostoli gratiam et suffragium conciliare studemus. Sane beati Petri basilicae, quae in Vaticana colle sumptibus aedificatur ingentibus, praeter alia privilegia concessum etiam quondam fuit, quod an curandam executionem pertinet eorum legatorum, quae a testatoribus ob pias relictas fuerint causas: dignum sane quod et probetur ab omnibus et ubique servetur, eo namque privilegio testatorum pia impletur voluntas, haeredum liberatur fides et conscientia exoneratur, ii vero, quibus eiusmodi legata relictas fuerint, id quod sibi debetur sine sumptu, sine labore ac molestia sua consequuntur. Cum

¹ See *supra*, p. 442.

² See *supra*, p. 448.

igitur id tam pium et tam aequum ac iustum sit, nobilitatem tuam hortandam in Domino duximus ut commissarium eius fabricae, ad curandam executionem huiusmodi legatorum cum his literis venientem, pro tua erga tantum apostolum devotione non modo libenter admittas atque recipias, sed etiam, ut libere commisso sibi officio fungi possit, ope et auxilio tuo, quotiescunque et ubicunque opus fuerit, in urbibus et locis ditionis tuae adiuves. Quod cum facies, sicut facturum te esse confidimus, pii principis officio fungeris et eum in coelis intercessorem habebis, cuius honori et cultui in terris in exaedificanda ipsius ecclesia debitum studium ac favorem impenderis.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die decima quinta ianuarii millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Antonius Florebellus Lavellinus

[Min. brev., Arm. 44, t. II, n. 193. *Ibid.* n. 194 similar brief to the King of Portugal, dat. 1562 Jan. 30. Papal Secret Archives.]

22. CARDINAL GHISLIERI TO THE INQUISITOR OF GENOA¹.

1562, February 13, Rome.

E superfluo che quella ill^{ma} Signoria mi ringratii di quanto V. R. gl' ha detto in mio nome, perche s'ha da render certa che in amarla et desiderarli ogni vero contento non cedo a nessuno, ma ben temo per l'affettione che li porto che Lione non sia causa di macchiare quella sì catholica città; il che saria rovina di essa rpublica. Fra Jacomo non mancherà come buono instrumento del demonio di aiutarli ad ammorbare quanto potrà. Pur se quella vi farà le considerationi et provisioni che si deve in servizio del sig^{re} Iddio et della santa fede, spero anco che sua Divina M^{tà} gli trarà fuori d'ogni periculo. . . .

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

23. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA².

1562, February 18, Rome.

. . . Solo occorre dire a V. Ecc^a che non hieri l'altro dì sera la St^a di N. S. se ne venne in castel S. Angelo, dove

¹ See *supra*, p. 349.

² See *supra*, p. 442.

cenò et dormì. Poi la matina dopo l'haver dato audienza pur in castello a diversi card^{li}, andò alla Rotonda dove fa accomodare quelle porte di bronzo et fece apicciar le torze per salire nella cimma, ma poi si pentì lasciò. Partì de li pur sempre a cavallo, et se n'andò alla chiesa che se fabrica a terme et d'indi a porta Pia, et poi se ne ritornò a desinare in castello et il dopo desinare poi a palazzo dove hora è. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

24. AVVISO DI ROMA OF 21 FEBRUARY, 1562¹.

S. Stà^r sta hora bene et va revidendo le fabriche che si fanno et è stato alla Rotonda et vuole che la porta che è di ottone sia lustrata et coperto il volto della chiesa di sopra di piombo dove manca, et è stato ancora a rivedere le altre sue fabriche che si fanno.

[Orig. Urb. 1039, p. 341. Vatican Library.]

25. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA².

1562, July 29, Rome.

. . . Si sono questi dì trovati alcuni cartelli per Roma nelli quali si diceva assai male di N. S. imputandolo come tiranno et minacciando a lui et parenti suoi, et fra l'altre cose dicendo che se a Paulo IV morto fu fatta ignominia di tagliare la testa alla statua sua, che si guardi di peggio lui et suoi, minacciandogli quasi in vita. Queste scritture furono portate per il governatore di Roma a S. B^{ne} la quale ne è stata et è in grandissima colera, et si dubita che non prorompa a qualche danno con Romani ancorche il comune guidicio sia che li detti cartelli non siano stati fatti da alcun Romano, ma da altri per irritare S. B^{ne} con loro. Si dice che S. B^{ne} ha havuto a dire in colera che per castigare Romani levarà la sede de qui et se ne verrà a star a Bologna. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

26. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA³.

1562, August 1, Rome.

. . . Dall' occasione delli cartelli de quali scrissi nelle precedenti a V. Ecc., è seguito che N. S. ha fatto ditener

¹ See *supra*, p. 442.

² See *supra*, p. 381.

³ See *supra*, p. 381.

Pompeio da Castello gentilhuomo Romano il S^r Hostilio Savello et alcuni altri et diversi ni stanno fugiti. Da buono loco intendo che pensano di scoprire una coniura contra S. B^{ne}, et se pur non vi è stata S. St^a ni ha temuto et teme, et quindi è successo che a S. Marco ha fatto impire le camere d'armi et accrescer la guardia. Hoggi poi se n'è venuta a St^o Apostolo ne si crede che più se ne vadi a passeggiare come facea in luoghi solitarii et con pochissima guardia. Et di più si tiene che prestissimo sia per ridursi a palazzo. A motti che S. B^{ne} ha fatto si comprende che habbi animo di abbassare Romani et di levar loro del tutto la giurisditione et particolarmente l'ufficio di conservatori o riformarla almeno in modo che non habbino ne occasione ne podestà con li Papi. Ma Dio voglia che questo non causi qualche gran tumulto, tanto più se S. B^{ne} mettesse mano a far tagliar teste, come pare che se più trovarci l'occasione ni habbi l'animo. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA¹.

1562, August 5, Rome.

. . . Dominica prossima passata fu tirata una archibugiata in una delle sale di S. Marco nella quale poco prima era stata N. S. et in quell' hora si trovava essere ito a riposare secondo il costume suo. Fu sentita l'archibugiata, ma fu strepito sordo, si trovò nel muro la botta et la balla in terra ripercossa dal muro, et pareva balla d'archebugio da posta. Si fa ogni diligenza per trovare onde sia stata tirata, havendosi opinione che sia stata tirata per S. B^{ne}. Et benchè questa cosa paia haver poco colore, perchè all' hora essa non era in quel luoco, ne persona che havesse voluto fare un eccesso tale haveria voluto tirare a vento, non di meno d'altra parte si giudica che habbi voluto far prova come riusciva il tiro, massime afteso che si poteva pensare che tal botta non saria stata sentuta per la qualità della polve. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

28. POPE PIUS IV. TO HANNIBAL VON HOHENEMS².

1562, October 8, Rome.

From his letters, especially that of Aug. 12, the Pope had

¹ See *supra*, p. 382.

² See *supra*, p. 391.

learned of his repentance. He pardons him and restores him to favour: "quando pero havrete fatto altre tanto di bene quanto sin'hora havete fatto di male."

[Orig. Hohenems Archives¹.]

29. MOTUPROPRIO OF POPE PIUS IV. IN FAVOUR OF THE
ROMAN INQUISITION².

1562, October 31, Rome.

Pius IV

Motus proprius in favorem officii sanctae Romanae
Inquisitionis facultatis procedendi contra quoscunque
praelatos, episcopos, archiepiscopos, patriarchas et cardinales.

Motu proprio etc. Saepius inter arcana mentis in amari-
tudine animae nostrae recolentes quam luctuosam totoque
lachrimarum fonte deplorandam calamitatem hoc infoelici
saeculo perditissimi homines et ab orthodoxa fide, quam
in baptismo solenniter professi sunt, apostatae in sanctam
Dei Ecclesiam invexerint, quantamque animarum precioso
D. N. Iesu Christi sanguine redemptarum stragem perfidi
castrorum Altissimi desertores et transfugae in profundum
aeternae damnationis baratrum obstinate collapsi quotidie
secum miserabiliter attrahant ac ut nocturni lupi passim
insidiantes feraeque truculentae immaniter grassantes, non
solum integros Domini greges absorbeant, sed etiam aliquando
somnia ignavisque neglectorum gregum pastoribus tur-
piter imponentes illos impietatibus suis involvunt, Nos,
pro supremi pastoralis officii nobis divinitus crediti debito,
sicut venerabiles fratres nostros episcopos, archiepiscopos,
patriarchas atque etiam ipsos S. R. E. cardinales aliosque
antistites in vera salutis aeternae via, quae Christus est,
constanter ambulantes coadiuvare et confirmare non cessa-
mus, ita etiam discolos, devios et in reprobum sensum distrac-
tos, si qui reperiantur, apostolatus nostri ministerio quam
primum in semitam rectam omni ratione reducidos esse
iudicamus. Hinc est quod nonnullos ex antistibus praedictis
status, salutis et famae suorum adeo immemores esse non
ignari, ut impiorum haereticorum inconsutilem Salvatoris
nostri tunicam discerpere conantium consiliis abire, et in

¹ *Ibid.* another *letter of November 26, 1562: Hannibal is to remain at the court of the King of Spain until the Pope recalls him.

² See *supra*, p. 311.

cathedra pestilentiae sedentes adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius, cum quo dulces cibos tamdiu proditorie ceperunt, impinguati calcitrando blasphemare, et qui se murum pro Israel adversariis abiicere debuerunt, illorum insaniis consentire partesque confovere non erubescant, huiusmodi contagio, ne latius illud etiam inter infirmos et imprudentes ovium ductores serpere contingat, occurrere volentes, venerabilibus fratribus nostris eiusdem Ecclesiae Romanae cardinalibus ceterisque ad officium ^{s^{tae}} generalis Inquisitionis in alma Urbe deputatis ex certa scientia et de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine in virtute sanctae obedientiae districtae praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus ipsi contra omnes et singulos huiusmodi episcopos, archiepiscopos, patriarchas, cardinales et alios praelatos et antistites quoscunque, cuiuscunque status, conditionis et praecellentiae, tam praesentes quam absentes, et ubique locorum, regnorum et dominiorum, tam citra quam ultra Alpes, etiam de licentia nostra existant, de quibus quaecunque haereticae pravitatis indicium ad officium ipsum allatum quive de haeresi quocunque modo suspecti fuerint alias, ut moris est, inquirere, testes aliasque probationes recipere et examinare necnon processus integre usque ad sententiam exclusive formare et concludere procurent; ac processus huiusmodi ad nos in consistorio nostro secreto ad effectum sententiam desuper per nos vel alium seu alios ad id a nobis deputandos consistorialiter iuxta deputatorum ipsorum relationem ac sacrorum canonum formam et alias prout nobis expedire videbitur, pronuntiandi et proferendi, prolataeque debitae executioni demandari faciendi, quanto citius commode potuerint afferant. Nos enim eisdem deputatis contra omnes et singulos etiam cardinales predictos, etiam absentes et ubicunque gentium etiam ultra montes consistentes super haeresi haereticae pravitate huiusmodi quomodolibet inquirendi, testes aliasque probationes recipiendi et admittendi, processus integros usque ad sententiam exclusive formandi et concludendi, necnon intus et extra etiam per edictum publicum citandi et inhibendi ceteraque in praemissis et circa ea necessaria et opportuna faciendi, exercendi, gerendi et exequendi plenam et liberam licentiam, facultatem et auctoritatem de dicta plenitudine tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus. Ac solam praesentium signaturam, etiam absque ulla illius registratura sufficere, et ubique, etiam in iudicio fidem facere,

regula contraria non obstante, necnon illius transumptis manu notarii dicti officii vel alterius cuiusvis signatis et eiusdem officii vel alicuius personae in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae sigillo munitis plenam et indubiam eandemque prorsus fidem, quae praesentis motus proprii schedulae, si ostensa foret, adhiberetur, tam in iudicio quam extra adhiberi debere decernimus; non obstantibus quibusvis apostolicis et provincialibus ac synodalibus conciliariisque constitutionibus et ordinationibus, statutis, concordatis nationalibus et pragmaticis sanctionibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et litteris apostolicis praelatis huiusmodi etiam cardinalibus ac sacro illorum collegio etiam contra similes inquisitiones et processus etiam per viam iurati contractus et alias quomodolibet concessis etc., quibus omnibus illorum tenores praesentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, hac vice dumtaxat motu simili specialiter et expresse derogamus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Placet motu proprio [Iohannes.]

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum pridie kalendas novembris anno tertio.

Registrata lib. primo secretorum fol. 226 H. Cumyn. et in libro actorum Sti Officii Inquisitionis, Romae die martis tertia novembris 1562 fol. 37.

Ita est. Claudius de Valle sanctae Inquisitionis notarius.

Collationati fuerunt per me notarium infrascriptum superscripti Motuproprius et bulla S^{mi} D. N. D. Pii papae Quarti sic ut supra registrati et auscultati cum propriis originalibus concordant. Quod attestor ego Claudius de Valle S. Rom. universalis Inquisitionis notarius.

Ideo me hic in fidem manu propria subscripsi.

[Copy. Barb. 1502, p. 182 *seq.* and 1503, p. 89 *seq.* Vatican Library.]

30—31. PIUS IV. AND THE ROMAN PRINTING HOUSE OF PAULUS MANUTIUS¹.

I. Universis fidelibus Siciliae.

1563, May 22, Rome.

Cum instituta iussu et magnis sumptibus nostris fuerit in hac Alma Urbe officina librorum ad libros latinos graecosque,

¹ *Supra*, p. 408.

qui nondum in lucem prodierint, imprimendos, qui forsitan nisi imprimerentur, interituri fuissent, et ad eos, qui mendosius editi fuerant, diligentiore correctione adhibita de integro edendos, presertim sacrorum ecclesiasticorumque scriptorum, qui non parvo forsitan futuri sint usui dis temporibus ad tuendam catholicorum dogmatum veritatem, mittendum in Siciliam ducimus, ubi variis in bibliothecis extare accepimus libros admodum veteres manuscriptos. Let Anton. Franc. a Neapoli of Messina be sent to visit all the libraries of the cathedrals and monasteries, there to compile a catalogue of the ancient books, to buy what he can and take them to Rome. An order to all the archimandrites, chapters, etc., to allow this.

[Min. Brev., Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 355. Papal Secret Archives.]

2. Proregi Siciliae, duci Medina Coeli.

1563, May 26, Rome.

We beg your help in searching for codices, especially of ecclesiastical writers, intending to have them printed. Some of those that are wanting to the Vatican Library may easily be found in Sicily, or else older and better ones. This would be useful for "*omnium studiosorum utilitatem non mediocrem*" and perhaps among them, as we greatly desire, there are some of which the Council of Trent could make use in order to confute the heretics.

[Ibid. n. 327.]

3. Francisco Avanzato.

1563, August 26, Rome.

"Pro nostro erga studia literarum amore et earum studiosos adiuvandi perpetuo desiderio" we have established "*officinam librorum*." He charges him to search the libraries of Sicily and to send the results to Cardinal Mula.

[Ibid. n. 381.]

4. Francisco Avanzato.

1564, April 17.

[Brev. t. 20, n. 131. Cf. RAYNALDUS, 1564, n. 53, where O. Panvinio is also appointed for the same purpose.]

32. THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I. TO HIS ENVOYS IN TRENT.¹

1563, August 23, Vienna.

In speaking of the reform of music at the Council of Trent, it is usual, on the strength of a passage in PALLAVICINI (22, 5, 14) to record of the Emperor Ferdinand I. that he threw into the balance "a very important recommendation" in favour of figured music, and that for this reason he may "in a certain sense" also make a "claim to the title of saviour of sacred music." (AMBROS, IV., 15). It is worth while therefore to give here in their original form the words of Ferdinand I., which are to be found in a letter to his envoys at the Council of Trent, dated Vienna, August 23, 1563: Porro sunt etiam alii quidam articuli, de quibus in specie vobis mentem nostram declarandam esse censemus, inter quos est ultimus tertii capitis, qui statuit, reiiciendos esse molliores musicorum cantus et in ecclesiis retinendam esse modulationum gravitatem, quae ecclesiasticam simplicitatem maxime decet. Quo quidem si di agitur, ut cantus figuratus protinus ex ecclesia in universum tollatur: nos id probaturi non sumus, quia censemus, tam divinum Musices donum, quo etiam animi hominum, maxime eius artis peritorum vel studiosorum, non raro ad maiorem devotionem accenduntur, ex ecclesia nequaquam explodendum esse.

The letter refers to the articles of reform sent by the envoys to the Council on August 13, 1563.

[Copy in Registers. Cod. 11055, p. 175^b. State Library, Munich.]

33. GIACOMO TARREGHETTI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.²

1563, September 15, Rome.

. . . La fabrica di Castello et di Borgo tuttavia va inanzi, et in breve se li darà ispedicione, et al fine di questo vengono 6000 [sic!] guastatori che hanno di cavare le fosse, et hora si cinge d'intorno Belvedere et S. Pietro di muraglia nuova . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

¹ See *supra*, p. 39, 52.² See *supra*, p. 430.

34. CARDINAL GHISLIERI TO GIROLAMO FRANCHI, O. PR.,
INQUISITOR OF GENOA.¹

1563, September 18, Rome.

. . . Certo che quelli ill^{mi} signori et il sig^r ambasciator di Spagna non dovevano fare istanza a V. R. di lassare passare le cinque casse de libri per Sua Mtà Catholica, senza che da lui fussero veduti, anzi (anchorche io non dubiti che fussero fuori d' ogni sospetto circa le cose della fede) con tale occasione era bene dare essemplio a tutti et mostrare che Sua Mtà non solo non intende che in simili cose della fede s' habbi da domandare essentione per persona alcuna, ma ne anco la vuole torre per se stessa . . .

[Orig. University Library, Genoa.]

35. PIUS IV. TO CARDINAL HENRY OF PORTUGAL.²

1563, November 10, Rome.

Card. Portug. Infanti.

Reply to his thanks of June 12 for the privileges given to the King: De Ecclesia s. 4 Coronat. admodum veneranda, quae curationis est tuae tuique cardinalatus titulus, vere tibi relatum fuit, Nobis curae fuisse, ut cum propter vestutatem et superiorum temporum incuriam pene collabi coepisset, nimis certe deformata esset, reficeretur, quod eo libentius curavimus, quod id pertinere etiam ad honorem et existimationem tuam intelligebamus, praesertim aliis cardinalibus suas ecclesias reficientibus: We do not doubt that you will have done this in such a way that your example will have spurred on the other Cardinals; we do not doubt that it will accomplish the rest.

[Min. brev. Arm. 44, t. 11, n. 394. Papal Secret Archives.]

36. FRANCESCO TONINA TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.³

1564, July 22, Rome.

. . . Ha fatta resolutione di riformare la casa, on la qual riforma cassa di molte bocche, et ha detto anche di voler minuire li soldatⁱ che sono pagati, et fare una nuova militia nel stato eccles^{co} conforme a quella del duca di Firenze che

¹ See *supra*, p. 349.² See *supra*, p. 442. The work *Le cose meravigliose di Roma*, Rome, 1563, 28, records the large expenditure on the restoration of SS. Quattro Coronati.³ See *supra*, pp. 374, 411, 439, 457.

sarà sempre in pronto ad ogni sua voglia. Dice di voler finire il palazzo, in strada Giulia già cominciato da Giulio II. per rimettervi tutti gli ufficii di Roma et voler circondare la piazza di S. Pietro di portichi. La chiesa Transpontina ch' è delli frati di S. M. del Carmine conventuali, è in parte già per terra per la fabbrica del Castello che vi si stende con una parte di un balluardo dentro. Il s^r card^{le} Borromei sta tutta via intento per far tradure dui grossi volumi di lettere scritte a diversi amici in diverse bande et che tutta via si scrivano da Gesuiti che sono del mundo nuovo overo Indie trovate da Spagnoli, sopra il progresso che fanno quelle genti di là nella fede da Christo . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

37. MOTUPROPRIO OF POPE PIUS IV. FOR THE EIGHT CARDINALS OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION.¹

1564, August 2, Rome.

Pius IV

Motus proprius facultatis concessae octo cardinalibus deputatis ad officium Stae Inquisitionis.

Pius papa quartus.

Motu proprio etc. Cum sicut accepimus postquam nos nuper zelo fidei ac censi, ut ii, qui a caula dominici gregis diabolica fraude in dies seducuntur, ac eam aspirante Domino facilius reducerentur vel si in eorum damnato proposito obstinato animo perseverare contenderent, taliter punirentur, quod eorum poena aliis transiret in exemplum, nonnullos S.R.E. cardinales officio supremo in alma Urbe et curia nostra ac tota republica christiana Stae Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis eiusque causarum audientiae et cognitioni, ut causae ipsae celerius expedirentur, praefeceramus et deputaveramus, tum ob cardinalium eorundem officio huiusmodi praefectorum numerum et in unum concursum difficilem, tum etiam propter inquisitorum et ad poenitentiam in dies redeuntium multitudinem, causas huiusmodi illarumque decisionem in longum protrahi et differri, ipsa experientia teste, cerneremus, Nos vestigiis fel. rec. Pauli Tertii et Iulii etiam Tertii praedecessorum nostrorum, qui dudum quinque et ad summum sex dumtaxat cardinales officio Inquisitionis illiusque causarum

¹ See *supra*, p. 312.

huiusmodi cognitioni et decisioni praefecerunt, inhaerentes, ac, cum praesertim urgens necessitas et eiusdem utilitas id exposcat, reprehensibile videri non debere, si iuxta temporum varietatem statuta quoque varientur humana, et pastoralis officio nihil decentius et convenientius esse, quam causarum praesertim dicti officii maturam et celerem expeditionem procurare iudicantes, motu simili etc. quod ex toto numero cardinalium deputatorum huiusmodi infrascripti octo dumtaxat cardinales causarum huiusmodi officii cognitioni et decisioni praeficiantur, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus et ordinamus ac dilectos filios nostros Ioannem Michelem Stae Anastasiae Saracenum, et Ioannem Baptistam Sti Clementis Cicada, ac Ioannem Suavium Stae Priscae Reomanum necnon Michaellem Stae Sabinae Ghislerium et Clementem Stae Mariae in Aracoeli Monelianum et Ludovicum Sti Chiriaci in Thermis Simonetam et Carolum Sti Martini in Montibus Borromaeum presbyteros ac Vitellotium Stae Mariae in Porticu Vitellium diaconum miseratione divina titulum S. R. E. cardinales officio Inquisitionis et causarum huiusmodi cognitioni et decisioni auctoritate et tenore praedictis praeficimus et deputamus; ac eis et eorum maiori parti quorumcunque inquisitorum, quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana dignitate praefulgentium, exceptis dumtaxat episcopis, archiepiscopis, patriarchis, ducibus, regibus et S. R. E. cardinalibus, quorum causas nobis cognoscendas terminandasque reservamus facto prius tantum per dictos octo cardinales processu et nobis in consistorio nostro secreto relato, causas tam hactenus motas¹ quam in posterum movendas inter seipsos per turnum distriquendas cum omnibus et singulis earum incidentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis, tam coniunctim quam divisim arbitrio suo audiendi, cognoscendi, decidendi fineque debito simul vel successive etiam adhibitis seu non adhibitis consultoribus per nos similiter deputandis et ad certum numerum restringendis, fine debito prout iuris fuerit terminandi; et insuper eandem et facultatem et auctoritatem in praemissis et circa ea, quam omnibus et singulis aliis cardinalibus, officio Inquisitionis huiusmodi per nos ut praefertur praefectis, per quoscunque praedecessores nostros concessas et attributas et quas nos per quasdam nostras sub pridie kalendas novembris tertio et alias sub pridie idus octobris² etiam tertio ac alias sub

¹ Cod. 1503 has "et pendentes."

² See Bull. Rom. VII., 237 seq.

septimo idus aprilis quarto pontificatus nostri annis datas litteras dederamus et concesseramus, quarum omnium concessionum et litterarum tenores praesentibus pro expressis haberi volumus, auctoritatem et facultatem concedimus et indulgemus ; mandantes nihilominus eisdem octo cardinalibus seu maiori eorum parti, qui pro tempore congregabuntur et intererunt, pro celeriori causarum huiusmodi expeditione et ne in dies haereses latius serpere contingat, quatenus ipsi saltem semel in hebdomada in alicuius cardinalis eorundem octo cardinalium antiquioris vel alterius eorum palatio, prout eis videbitur, in unum conveniant et causarum huiusmodi pro tempore pendentium decisioni incumbant illasque prout iuris fuerit et alias, prout eis seu eorum maiori parti pro rerum, temporum et personarum qualitate honestum et congruum ac expediens visum fuerit, decidant et fine debito terminent. Decernentes omnia et singula quae per eosdem octo cardinales seu eorum maiorem partem pro felici directione ipsius officii et alias in praemissis et circa ea pro tempore statuta, acta, gesta, ordinata, sententiata et decreta ac etiam immutata et alterata ac reformata fuerint, ita ut de illorum nullitate aut invaliditate seu iurisdictionis aut quovis alio defectu excipi seu illa impugnari aut revocari non possint, eandem vim idemque prorsus robur in omnibus et per omnia obtinere perinde ac si ab omnibus et singulis cardinalibus antea deputatis praefatis in eorum generali congregations vel a nobis aut Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente statuta, acta, gesta, ordinata, sententiata et decreta, immutata et alternata ac reformata forent, prout illa ex nunc prout ex tunc et e contra auctoritate et tenore praedictis confirmamus et approbamus, illaque perpetuae firmitatis robur obtinere et ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari debere, sicque per quoscunque iudices ac etiam S. R. E. cardinales, sublata etc. Irritum quoque etc. decernimus ; supplentes omnes et singulos iuris et facti defectus, si qui pro tempore forsitan intervenerint in eisdem ; cum potestate citandi etiam per edictum omniaque et singula faciendi, gerendi et euxequendi in praemissis et circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna. Approbantes nihilominus et confirmantes omnia et singula, quae per dictos octo cardinales seu eorum maiorem partem ante datam praesentium seu earum in actis praesentationem acta, gesta, statuta et ordinata ac decisa fuerint in praemissis, ita quod nullatenus de iurisdictionis vel alterius nullitatis defectu notari aut

impugnari valeant ; Mandantes dilectis filiis almae Urbis nostrae gubernatori, senatori, vicario et camerae apostolicae auditori et quibuscunque legatis, vicelegatis, gubernatoribus provinciarum et terrarum nobis et Romanae Ecclesiae mediate vel immediate subiectarum ac eorum locatenentibus, officialibus, barisellis et aliis ministris necnon aliis locorum ordinariis ceterisque magistratibus et officialibus ac cuiusvis conditionis et status hominibus in omnibus et singulis terris, oppidis, et civitatibus ac in tota republica christiana existentibus sub excommunicationis latae sententiae ac indignationis nostrae ac aliis arbitrio nostro et eorundem cardinalium imponendis et exequendis poenis, ut eisdem cardinalibus Inquisitoribus ac eorum praeceptis et mandatis in quibuscunque officium Inquisitionis huiusmodi concernentibus pareant et obediant. Reges vero, duces, comites, barones et quosvis alios principes saeculares in Dei nomine rogantes, ut eisdem cardinalibus Inquisitoribus eorumque officialibus faveant auxiliumque praebeant et a suis magistratibus subditis auxilium praeberi faciant in negotiis dictum officium spectantibus ; necnon carceratos quoscunque pro quibusvis debitis et delictis etiam atrocibus apud dictum Inquisitionis officium quomodolibet delatos vel denunciatos, suspensa aliorum criminum inferiorum cognitione, ad eosdem cardinales et Inquisitionis carceres, ibidem usque ad criminis haeresis totalem cognitionem et expeditionem retinendos et postea ad eosdem officiales pro aliorum criminum cognitions remittendos, sine mora transmittant. Necnon dilectis filiis secretariis nostris et aliis litterarum apostolicarum expeditionibus et ministris, ut quascunque etiam in forma brevis et alias litteras et scripturas pro executione officii Inquisitionis huiusmodi quomodolibet necessarias et opportunas absque mora et dilatione gratis expediant et expediri ac ministris dicti officii consignari libere faciant. Irritum quoque etc. decernimus. Non obstantibus praemissis ac quibusvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis et omnibus illis quae in singulis litteris praedictis volumus non obstare, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque, praedictarum litterarum tenores ac eorundem cardinalium ut praefertur deputatorum necnon quorumcunque inquisitorum nomina et cognomina ac causarum huiusmodi status et merita praesentibus pro expressis habentes ; decernentes solam praesentis nostri motus proprii signaturam sufficere et abique fidem facere in iudicio et extra, regula contraria non

obstante, seu litteras desuper per breve nostrum expediri posse.

Placet motuproprio I[ohannes.]

Datum Romae apud Stum Marcum quarto nonas augusti, anno quinto.

Registrata lib. 6. fol. 230.—H. Cumyn, 8 augusti per Mar.

[Copy. Barb. 1502, p. 187 *seq.* and 1503, p. 93 *seq.*

Vatican Library.]

38. POPE PIUS IV. TO ALESSANDRO CRIVELLI.¹

1564, November 2, Rome.

Venerabili fratri Alexandro episcopo Cariatensi
nostro et Sedis Apostolicae nuncio in regnis Hispaniarum.

Venerabilis frater, salutem, etc. Tertius iam annus exactus est cum nos, qui Carthusiensium ordinem precipua charitate prosequimur, cupientes monachorum eius ordinis in alma urbe commodo valetudinique consulere et divinum cultum simul augere, locum ipsis quidem ad aedificandum monasterium concessimus in thermis Diocletiani, ex insalubri ubi quotannis plerique eorum graviter aegrotare solebant, eamque ob causam divino cultui vacare non poterant, in locum eos non minus salubrem quam amoenum transferentes : ecclesiam vero ibidem aedificare sumptibus nostris coepimus sub invocatione beatae Mariae Virginis et omnium angelorum ac martyrum. . . .

. . . Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum etc. die II novembris 1564, anno quinto.

[Copy. Arm. 44, t. 20, n. 63. Papal Secret Archives.]

39. COMMENDONE'S DISCORSO SOPRA LA CORTE DI ROMA, 1564.²

Among the many treatises on the Roman court which appeared in the XVIth century, and which for the most part have an introduction on the course to be adopted,³ the *Discorso*

¹ See *supra*, pp. 445, 446, 447.

² See *supra*, pp. 58 *seqq.*

³ The following are among the dissertations quoted by Ranke (Päpste I^o) 333, from the Berlin Library (Inf. polit. XII : *Instruttione al sig. card. di Medici del modo come si deve governare nella corte di Roma, and *Instruttione et avvertimenti all'illmo card. Montalto sopra il modo col quale si possa et debba ben governare come cardinale et nipote di Papa, as well as Inf. polit. XXV, p. 48 *seq.* *Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma), which are also to be found in other libraries, e.g. the last named Avvertimenti with their rather too roughly expressed advice, in Cod. X-VI-31 of the Casanatense Library, Rome, the *Instructions for Montalto, otherwise apochryphal, in Cod. 5862 Nr. 6 of the Court Library, Vienna. *Ibid.* 5814 Nr. 2 : *Ricordi per la corte di Roma, 1580, the author of which gives great praise to the treatise of Commendone.

of Commendone holds a most important place. The treatise contains much that is of interest, and worthy of being known, and which is put forward very boldly. It cannot be wondered that it had a large circulation. How wide this was may be seen from the following far from complete list.

Arezzo, Library of the Confraternità di S. Maria : Miscell. dipl. I 33.

Auxerre, Library : Cod. 217.

Basle, Library : Cod. O—II—9 p. 1 f.

Bologna, University Library : Cod. 2776 (di S. Salvatore), used by Tiraboschi, VII., 1, 313 *seq.*, and Cod. 4082 ; see Frati in the N. Antologia V, 170 (1914) 727.

Città di Castello, Graziani Archives.

Colmar, State Library.

Florence, National Library : 5 Copies ; see Frati *loc. cit.* State Archives, C. Strozz. Nr 261.

Karlsruhe, Library : Cod. D. 29 p. 381 *seq.* and D. 43 p. 381 *seq.*

Milan, Ambrosian Library : Q. 119 sup. and N. 245 sup.

Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibl. : Ital. 1 p. 1 f and 222 p. 1 f.

Naples : 1. Bibl. Brancacciana ; 2. Bibl. Nazionale : Cod. X—C—66. 3. Libr. of the Oratorians ; s. Mandarini, I Mss. Orat. di Napoli, Neap. 1897, 147.

Paris, National Library : 10051 ; s. Montfaucon, II., 892 ; *cf.* also Marsand, I., 322 *seq.*

Parma, Bibl. Palat.

Pistoia, Bibl. Forteguerri : Cod. E. 359.

Prague, Bibl. Nostitz : Cod. VII., 92 1.

Rome : 1. Vatic. Library : a) Barb. 5332 ; b) Vatic. 5899, p. 149 *seq.* 8167 ; 9730 p. 109 *seq.* c) Ottob. 876 ; 2264 p. 1 *seq.* 2418 p. 79 *seq.* (with wrong date 1574) ; 2430 p. 1 *seq.* 2689 p. 72 *seq.* 2767 p. 119 *seq.* 2808 p. 267 *seq.*

2. Papal Secret Archives : XI. 182 and Varia polit. t. 24 p. 297 *seq.* and t. 95 p. 360 *seq.*

3. Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuit. 156.

San Severino (Marches), Bibl. Comunale : Cod. XLVI.

Stockholm, Library : Hist. Ital. Miscell. p. 101 f.

Upsala, Library : Ms. Celsius N. 54.

Venice, Bibl. Marciana : 4 Copies ; see Frati *loc. cit.*

Volterra, Bibl. Guarnacci : Cod. 6186.

Vienna, I. Court Library : 6302 p. 1 *seq.* 6336 (Rangoni 15) p. 278 *seq.* 6625 p. 290 *seq.*

2. Bibl. Liechtenstein : Cod. G. VIII. 29, p. 155 *seq.*

In all these codices Commendone is given as the author. The doubt raised by Ranke (Päpste, III., 57*) is quite unfounded. The dedication to Girolamo Savorgnano is wanting in many of the codices, which is not surprising.

Among historians of literature TIRABOSCHI was the first (VII., I, 313) to call attention to this treatise, which was known to him in the Bologna codex. RANKE (III., 57* ; *cf.* I., 133) quotes the *Discorso* from the Vienna codex, and in both cases gives the wrong signature Rangoni 18 instead of 15. MAI (Spicil., VI., 41 *seq.*) used a codex at the Vatican. Among modern historians who have used the treatise of Commendone are ŠUSTA (Pius IV., 102), TÖRNE (Gallio, 4 *seqq.*) and lastly FRATI in the Nuova Antologia of Apr. 16, 1914, p. 726 *seq.*

Opinions differ as to the time of its composition. That of Ranke, who says "according to all appearances it belongs to the time of Gregory XIII." is altogether wrong. It is contradicted by the title which occurs in the majority of the codices : "Monsignor Commendone Vescovo di Zante," a dignity which Commendone received at the beginning of the pontificate of Paul IV. The opinion of Mai, who gives the year 1554 (Spicil. VI. 4) is also wrong. Nor is that of Törne that it belongs to the pontificate of Paul IV., a correct one ; in the copy of the treatise in the Graziani Archives, the word *presente* next to *Papa* is cancelled when speaking of Paul IV. Palermo (I. manoscritti Palatini, I., 321) hesitates between 1555 and 1559 : Cantù (Eretici II. 66) pronounces in favour of the latter year. These dates cannot be seriously considered since it is clear from its contents that the *Discorso* was written after Commendone's journey to Germany in 1561. And since in one place we read : "perche già siamo al quinto anno del presente papa" we must give 1564 as the year of its composition, in support of which Frati (*loc. cit.* 728) adduces a letter of Cod. 2776 of the University Library, Bologna. The information so far given concerning the *Discorso* by this scholar, does not deal in its entirety with its interesting contents. *Cf.* our remarks, *supra* p. 58 *seq.*

40-42. CONCERNING THE CONSPIRACY OF DECEMBER 1564.¹

I. State Archives, Rome : Archivio criminale, Processi del sec. XVI., vol. 100.

. . . Respondit [Benedictus de Accoltis] : Io dico liberamente che intendevo e intendo de liberare tutta la Italia e mondo sopradetti dalle mani de qualsivoglia tiranno che li oppremesse di sorte cominciando dal pontefice istesso, se nella gionta di questo popolo egli se ritrovasse non fare l' offitio de vero pontefice, come sin qui tengo che lo faccïa, che questo popolo lo fosse per deporre e per sustituire un altro pontefice, e così de mano in mano.

Et replicando dictis quod non interrogatur de populo, sed de se ipso et propterea respondeat, a manibus cuius ipse intendebat cum dicto gladio liberare Italiam et totum mundum,

Respondit : Io dico che per metterla in esempio ogni volta che fosse venuto che io fosse stato oppresso ingiustamente da qualsivoglia de sopradetti capi, se bene fosse el papa proprio, ogni volta però che io havesse conosciuto che con il detto populo se renovasse altro pontefice che questo, che io possendo nocere o a lui o qualsivoglia altro principe, li haverei nociuto con il confessare subito questo braccio de Dio et aspettare che facesse l'esito suo : et la conclusione è questa che, in evento che questo papa presente me havesse oppresso et che se fosse trovato altro pontefice, io l' averei ammazzato questo papa con quel coltello, se io havesse possuto ; e di più de novo dico che ogni volta che me vedesse al presente opprimere contra la giustitia, confessarei liberissimamente che ci è un altro pontefice in ornine con questo populo per liberare Italia e tutta la Christianità.

Interrogatus an ipse sciat in quo loco sint ipsi pontifex et

¹ The information concerning the acts of the trial (see *supra* p. 384) is here published for the first time. The letter of Canossa was taken advantage of, but without any critical sense, by Ranke (see *supra*, p. 387). The *Sommario delle confessioni* of the conspirators was known to ADRIANI (XVIII, 2), to MAMBRINO ROSEO (*Istorie del mondo*, Venice, 1585, vol. II, part 3, l. 8, p. 61), to NICC. CONTI (*Istorie de' suoi tempi*, Venice, 1589, part 1, l. 14, p. 388), and to CAMPANA (*Vita di Filippo II*, Venice, 1608, part 2, l. 16, p. 147). A quite peculiar account of the conspiracy is to be found in BERNARDINO AZZURRINI, *Libro de' fatti moderni occorsi nella città di Fano*, printed by A. Missiroli in the *Bollett. d. bibl. comunale di Faenza*, Faenza, 1913, 3, according to which the conspiracy was organized by Garcia di Toledo and many other Neapolitans out of revenge for the execution of the Carafa. For a conspiracy which is said to have been formed against Pius IV. in 1564, as being the enemy of the Carafa, see SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XII., 337.

populus preservatus et cuius etatis et stature etc. . . sit dictus pontifex,

Respondit : Questo no, che non lo so, perche non lo so in vero ; subdiditque : lo dico, se questo papa non me fara iustitia, che io tengo certo che ce sia un altro pontefice con detto populo preservato, massimamente se questo papa mi facesse iniustitia perche io tenesse questa opinione, e credo che in evento che ce sia questo pontefice novo et quale dico che ci è, ogni volta che questo faccia iniustitia a questa cosa, terrei e crederei che fosse l'homo de santissima vita, di età senile che havesse spirito de Dio da poter mostrare la authorita sua come l'abbia havuto uno de quelli santi pontefici antiqui.

Interrogatus, an ipse dixerit alicui seu aliquibus quod immo et populus et pontifex novus predicti iam erant in itinere cum maximo numero gentium tam equestrium quam pedestrium et veniebant versus Urbem, et quod ille pontifex habebat barbam longam et erat senex et ipse appellabat eum suum barbum,

Respondit : lo ho detto che così come io tengo per certo è certissimo che ce sia detta chiesa preservata, la quale ha da aggiustare tutti li pesi, così io credo che detta chiesa sia già in viaggio, se bene io non lo so, e tengo per certo de quella sorte che io tengo che ce sia essa chiesa, et così che, vedenda tante iniustitie per il mondo quante sono, credo che sia aparechiato un home che in ogni evento che bisogni sia per essere il pontefice de Dio, e quel pontefice che ordinariamente dal popolo Romano è chiamato pontefice angelico. E ho detto che io credo che ce sia un altro papa che venga con il popolo, ma non noci a questo se non in caso che sia necessario.

Monitus quod velit ingenue fateri veritatem : si ipse cum predictis comite Antonio, Thadeo Manfredo, Prospero et eius nepote ac aliquibus aliis unquam dixit procurare habere audientiam secretam a summo pontifice ad effectum ut ille facilius cum dicto gladio posset percutere et interficere, requisivitque eos ut vellent ipsum associare ad dictum maleficium committendum et deinde a dicto palatio evadendum,

Respondit : Liberissimamente io ho detto a tutti costoro, ecceto a Prospero che io volevo andare da papa Pio e con lui conferita tutta questa cosa e visto che lui la havesse biastimata e negato che ce fosse chiesa preservata o reforma de Christo alcuna e recusato la esperienza che se haveva a dimostrare, che io allhora, non come pontefice, perche non lo haveria in

loco de pontefice, ma come persona privatissima et in questo caso avversario et inimico de Christo et della fede apostolica lo volevo percotere et ammazzare e farli tutto quello che havesse possuto con quel coltello o con altro, e pregai li sopradetti da Prospero in fori, che me accompagnassero per fare questo effetto, e dettè al conte Antonio et altro, che se domanda Ioan Jacovo de Lusignano, il quale per sorte deve essere questo che ha detto tutte queste cose, ma io non me ne curo, che io volevo che loro dui entrassero con me, perchè so [no] meglio vestiti, in camera del papa et aiutarme a fare questo effetto : loro mi promessero de volerce venire, et una volta sola menai li sopradetti per questo effetto in palazzo in compagnia cioè detto conte Antonio, detto cavaliere Taddeo, Pietro mio nepote e Prospero de Regio, non spaendo però Prospero la cosa.

Interrogatus an ipse fuerit unquam in civitate Genevre et quando et cum quibus et per quantum temporis spatium et quid ibidem egerit,

Respondit : Io ce andai nel 1544 o 45 per andare in Francia e passai per li Svizari e da quelle bande, per esser tumulti de guerra in Piamonte, et me fermai li circa sei o sette giorni in casa de un ms. Oddo, el quale pizicava de esser lutherano.

Interragatus an aliquos libros lutheranos in dicta civitate Venetiarum seu Padue legerit vel alibi legerit.

Respondit : lo ho letto li comentarii de Martino Luthero, de Martino Buccero, alcune opere di Zoinglio scritte al re di Francia, una opera diabolica de Martino Luthero contra papam a diabolo inventum, un'altra operetta pur de Martino Luthero dove afferma una certa spetie de purgatorio ; ho letto quel del Caronte e Mercurio, ancora Pasquino in hestasi e una tragedia fatta da un monaco negro, un'altra de [libero] arbitrio ; ho letta l'institutione de Giovan Calvino ; ho letto la traductione de Leon Juda, le opere de Antonio Brucciolo ; ho letto le prediche di fra Bernardino Lucchino, alcune opere de Philipppo Melantone, uno pur de Sebastiano Busteo e molti altri libri, perche in Bologne in casa del Magio ce ne venevano le cataste, essendo li molti tedeschi ; et ne ho letti in più lochi, ma li principali dove ho letto assai è stato a Bologna, in Ferrara, in Modena et il manco de tutti in Venetia et in Genevra alcune poche cose e qui in Roma non ho letto nè conterito cosa alcuna, eccetto che li dialoghi de Erasmo, ma con mons^r Carnesecchi, mentre che stava a Santo Honofrio e che se era per giustificare :

ragionando insieme lui mi disse che sapeva per cosa chiara, il che mi parve una favola, che uno era state preso da un angelo de poso, condotto qui in Roma e che quel angelo li haveva detto a colui: *Maledic huic urbi*; e che lui la maledisse: ma non me disse il nome. Et de più me pare che il Carnesecchi mi dicesse che a costui era stato detto che Roma, Fiorenza e Milano havevano a capitare male, e chi abrusciato e chi arrovinato. E questo mi disse stando su l'essere iustificato in Santo Nofrio, come ho detto.

Interrogatus a quo vel a quibus habuit dictos libros hereticos et quid de eis fecerit, et an sciat quod in Urbe aliquis teneat et legat similes libros hereticos,

Respondit: Li libri in Bologna in casa del Maggio li accattavo da quelli Tedeschi, li quali loro istessi me li offerevano, chè li portavano a leggere a tutti; in Padova delli libri de ms. Oddo, che ne haveva parecchi in casa; in Venetia, quando ce fui inanti al 47, teneva di questi libri ms. Baldassare Altieri e in Modena in casa del medico Machella, che ne haveva un infinità lui e ms. Francesco Portagrecò, che fo poi maestro delle figliole di madonna Ravega et li Grillenzoni; et qui in Roma quelli colloqui de Erasmo li hebbi dall'hostaria de Giacomo Venetiano che non so chi diceva che ce li haveva lassati. Et io non so nessuno in Roma che habbia libri heretici; ma quanto al vedere mio, se non ne fosse qualcheduno in casa del cord. Morone, che in Modena, o dicessero il vero o dicessero la bugia, che non lo so, lo reputavano per un protettore de questa setta; ma io non so certo nè tanpoco so nè affermo cosa alcuna de Morone.

Et sic de mandato Domini elevatus dixit: Christum, Christum, Christum et tacuit; deinde dixit: Christum, lo spirito mio, Christum lo spirito mio, Christum, Christum, Christum, metteteme giù che ve dirò che da quelli libri lutherani è venuta questa cosa che dicevano che era lecito ammazzare el papa, e io legendoli me so messo questa sententia in capo che me fosse lecito ammazzarlo. Metteteme giù, chè adesso me so recordato una cosa che me disse el cardinale.

Eidem d[ictum] quod ibidem eam dicat, respondit: Mi disse che, se lui potesse havere da 4 o 5 milia persone, che haverebbe fatto gran cose.

Eidem d[ictum] quod dicat veritatem, dixit: Li lutherani cano sonno cagione de ogni male per li libri e per le parole, li quali lutherani dicono tutti li mali contra il papa,

Cui sic depositus, cum stetisset aliquantulum absque eo quod loqueretur et cum oculis clausis et deinde in se rediisset, monitus a Domino quod velit ingenue dicere veritatem super quibus interrogatus fuit,

Respondit: Liberamente io confesso che questa cosa de ammazzare el papa è stato un ludibrio diabolico, e questa cosa non mi è venuta in capo per altra causa che per havere letto libri lutherani et anche per haver letto certe coniure in Platina contra un papa de un Stephano Porcaro, la quale coniura fo poi scoperta et pur non so che altre coniure che sono li in quel Platina; et me ero messo questa chimera in capo, ammazzato che fosse il papa, che tutto il mondo havesse a stare attonito, e io allhora haverei comenzata a predicare al popolo e dirli che era in essere un papa novo, angelico, con gente assai; la qual cosa era una fittione che me havevo immaginato de dire, pensando con questo strada di fermare le gente, e il conte Antonio¹ dall' altra banda diceva che parlaria a' conservatori, a' caporioni et tutti, e il cavaliere anche diceva che voleva parlare ancora lui. O quanto male me ha detto questo cavaliere delle ingiustitie del papa et che se facevano a Roma; et diceva che haveva parlato con quelli lavoranti del Belvedere e che dicevano male del papa. E lui è quello che me instigava ogni dì più a fare questa cosa: e questa è la pura e mera verità, e questo era un ludibrio del diavolo che me era troppo fisso nella mente; e dico che contra la coscienza mia ma instigato da loro, che rabbiavano in questo, mi messi a portare il pugnale per ammazzare il papa.

II. Vatic. 7951 p. 31 *seq.*: Sommario della sustanza delle confessioni dell' infrascritti carcerati il conte Antonio Canossa, il sig. Taddeo Manfredi, il cavalier Pelliccione, Benedetto Accolti, Pietro Accolti, Prospero de Pittori, estr. dall' Arch. segr. Capitolino Arm. 6, t. 63, p. 81 *seq.* (Copy of Galletti).

Persuasi dal suddetto Benedetto Accolti che V. Stà non era vero papa con dire altri mali de lei e che era in essere un papa novo onto, santo et angelico con una parte de christiani preservati dal Signore Iddio, li quali verriano con detto papa a Roma e che saria monarca del monde et che esso Benedetto avea autorità et facoltà ed fare donativi a ciascuno che lo aiutasse ad ammazzare V. B. in evento che lei non li volesse credere quando li parlaria et che ora havesse da essere la rin-

¹ Canossa.

novazione della chiesa et le cose suddette et dettoli similmente che non mancaria aiuto et favore per eseguire questo negozio et che se vederiano miracoli dal cielo et che per questo non patiriano mali alcuni, anzi 'l Signore Dio li cacciarìa sicuri d' ogni pericolo, et che questa era una cosa santa et de Dio et molte altre parole simili dette da lui et con avere promesso al conte Antonio la città de Pavia, al signor Taddeo Cremona, al cavalier Pelliccione Aquilea, a Pietro Ravenna a Prospero cinquemila ducati di entrata non solamente indusse li sopradetti a credere quello che lui diceva, ma a prometterli di voler essere insieme con lui ad ammazzare V. St^a e dargli ogni aiuto e favore, dato però ordine fra loro poiche lui li dava da intendere che era cosa santa et di Dio di confessarsi prima et comunicarsi, et far dire tre messe dello Spirito Santo come fecero, che si confessorno in S. Onofrio et dopo si comunicorno in S. Pietro Montorio.

Il trattato fatto tra loro più volte d' ammazzarla è seguito come appare nelle confessioni loro di questa maniera.

Furono trovati dal cavalier Pelliccione dui pugnali domandati fusetti overo stiletti, li quali sono in mano della corte per fare questo effetto, li quali pugnali furono arrotati et super quello che aveva da portare Benedetto Accolto li fu menato cipolla per venenarlo. Di poi acciò nel metterli mano non si vedesse lustrare li fu messo sopra una guaina di taffetta nera e tra le altre volte fu concluso tra loro una sera nella casa dove stavano, che la mattina seguente, che aveva da essere la segretaria, s' avesse a fare questo effetto dal detto Benedetto col detto pugnale, et dal detto cavaliere Pelliccione con l' altro pugnale et che li altri quattro sopranominati, li quali si erano messi in ordine de spade et l' avevano fatte arrotare, havessero ad aiutare con metter mano alle spade questa scelleragine et acciò potessero più facilmente entrare al cospetto di lei ferno trovare certi vestimenti boni per vestire li suddetti Benedetto a Taddeo, et il detto Benedetto disse di voler essere il primo a menare contra la St^a V. fingendo di darli una poliza et dicendo di volerla percuotere ogni volta che avesse visto il segno che lei non fosse papa cioè che non li avesse voluto credere quelle cose sopradette che diceva di volerli proporre, e fa similmente dato ordine tra loro in quella fattione gridare pensando con questa voce d' impaurire le brigate et il conte Antonio Canossa portava con se cinque polize che aveva fatte tre dirette alla guardia de cavalli leggieri, alla guardia dell'

archibugieri et alla guardia de Suizzeri, et due alli signori conservatori et caporioni; in queste due ultime si scriveva alli detti signori conservatori et caporioni che dovessero venire a Palazzo et che se li renderà conto per che causa era stato ammazzato non il papa, ma il cardinale de Medici et che era in essere il papa vero qual'era santo et angelico et altre parole. Alle tre guardie tra le altre cose se li scriveva che se li dava le guardarobbe del cardinal Borromeo et del cardinal S. Giorgio¹ di monsignor Gallese et di monsignore Tolomeo et che attendessero alle guardie loro. Così la mattina a buon ora della segretaria tutti sei insieme risoluti di fare questo assassinamento se ne vennero in Palazzo con quel pugnale in petto et con un coltello, il quale lui ha detto d'aver portato molto tempo per questo effetto et il cavalier Pelliccione con la spada et col pugnale nella gagliaffa delle calze et li altri quattro similmente armati con spade et entrarono nell' anticamera di V. B. et li se intertennero con animo risoluto di voler fare questo effetto, sin a tanto che la S. V. uscì alla sigretaria, nella quale sigretaria il detto Benedetto e conte Antonio e cavaliero entrorno, ma non fecero poi altro, perche dicono che m. Benedetto non si pote accostare per la troppa moltitudine a parlare alla Stà V. et alcuni di loro dicono che il detto Benedetto si smarrì et diventò morto in faccia come la terra, perciò se ne tornarono a casa et che ebbero parole insieme et mostrarono collera contro detto m. Benedetto perche non aveva fatto l'effetto et perche non avevano visto segno alcuno. Nondimeno reattaccarono un'altra volta ragionamento di volerlo fare et m. Benedetto disse che se non lo poteva fare con la Stà V. l'averia fatto col cardinale Borromeo, et hanno cercato per questo diverse persone per avere audienza secreta da V. Stà et offertoli somme di danari in evento che la potessero avere dicendo a questo et a quello che avevano a trattare con la Stà V. cose di grandissima importanza. Ultimamente avendo speranza di dovere avere giovedì a mattina audienza dalla Stà V. comparse da lei il rivelatore la sera innanzi et così la notte furono presi.

Il detto Benedetto confessa avere avuto il medesimo animo altre volte contra Paolo quarto et contra la Santità Vostra et dice che si era risoluto un anno e mezzo fa di farla lui solo con quel coltello che portava et che per questo ordinò al detto Pietro et a un Giulio, che tutti dui li domanda nipoti, che

¹ Giovanni Serbelloni.

dovessero andarsi con Dio da Roma perche lui aveva da fare una cosa grande che faria meravigliare tutto il mondo et che non voleva che ci si trovassero acciò non ne havessero a patire et così se ne andarono sino a Rezzo, dove stettero certi giorni et poi tornarono a Roma vedendo che non intendevano cosa alcuna.

Il suddetto Benedetto dice che conosce che questa è stata illusione diabolica et che si era messo in capo di fare questa impresa per aver letto più libri lutherani et heretici, nelli quali ha trovato che li papi non sono papi, ma antichristi, et che si faria un gratissimo sacrificio a Dio di ammazzarli, et di estirpare loro et li pontificati et per aver letto nel Platina certe congiure fatte contra un papa da certi de casa Porcaro et confessa avere confinto con li sopradetti la casa del papa nuovo et delle genti che erano in essere per indurli a fare quanto esso desiderava.

Il medesimo Benedetto confessa avere avuto qualche opinione heretica, aver letto in più luoghi libri et opere di Luthero et del Calvino et molti altri libri lutherani et heretici et specialmente un' opera di Martin Luthero contra papatum a diabolò inventum et confessa ancora di aver praticato con molti heretici et di essere stato molti anni sono in Ginevra.

Tutti li nominati sopradetti han trattato come è detto di sopra contra la persona della Stà V. et son venuti a questo effetto in Palazzo al giorno della sigretaria, ma Prospero supernominato concordano tutti, che non sapeva cosa alcuna che s' avesse da offendere ne d' ammazzare Vostra Santità, aveva ben promesso di menare le mani e far quello che facevano l' altri.

Padre b^{mo}.

Quest' è il sommario del scelleratissimo, horrendissimo et inaudito trattato tanto empicamente fatto dalli sopradetti ribaldi contra la persona della Stà V. la quale insieme con tutto il christianesimo ha da ringraziare perpetuamente il Signore Dio Benedetto che non solamente abbia scoperto et impedito l' iniquissima e perversa deliberazione loro e miracolosamente fattoli dar tutti in potere di Stà V. et della iustitia, ma perche sarà causa ancora che con l'esemplare dimostrazione che si farà per giustizia contra le persone loro si darà tal terrore al mondo che mai più persona ardirà o potrà pensare d' offendere Vostra Beatitudine, vero Vicario di Jesu Christo in terra e suo successore.

Piaccia intanto alla Divina Maestà concederli longa vita, et quanto lei stessa desidera.

III. Corsini Library, Rome Cod. 35 B. 3 [674] p. 95 *seq.*, and with variants in Vatic. 7951 p. 36 *seq.*, also in N—II—31 p. 481 *seq.* of the Chigi Library, Rome.

Sommario della depositione di Antonio Canossa, che fu fatto morire nel pontificato di Pio IV. con una lettera scritta a suoi parenti.

Questo è il sommario della mia depositione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnarà V. S. mandare alli miei s^{ri} padre et madre et a tutti gl' altri parenti miei subito che io sarò morto.

Benetto Accolti propose di haver una cosa da manifestar per Christo, e che quando pensasse di dover ottener gratia di poter farla conoscer vera, lui havria domandato, che fossero stati congregati in Agone theologi chiarissimi, et altre genti et havria proposto il suo secreto con un rogo grandissimo di fuoco acceso, et vi si saria messo dentro, et ne saria uscito salvo ; ma per conoscere, che la gratia non li sarina concessa, era risoluto voler fare come egli era indirizzato da Dio, che era questo, voler fare una confessione della Chiesa divina preservata, sotto la quale diceva ha da unirsi la chiesa Greca con la Romana, et a cui la sede e regno delli Ottomani si sottoponerà e tutte la sette contro la fede catolica seranno distrutte, e sarà una giustitia generalissima, et il papa sarà monarca et huomo santo unto da Christo ch' havrà l' obediencia universale etc. Ma in proporre il soggetto di questa cosa a papa Pio che l' portava pericolo non lo accettasse, perche teneva per certo che non fusse vero Papa, et in tal caso che lui haveria il segno da Dio, et era necessario che lui lo amazzasse, o almeno li facesse un segno di ferro con bravura, e mi esortava a farli compagnia per far questa santa opera, che da Dio prima, e dal sommo monarca saria remunerato. Io gli risposi molte cose in contrario et in finire che per servire a Dio io havria speso la vita volontieri, ma non volevo consentire alla morte, non solo di un principe come questo, ma ancora di qualsivoglia grado inferiore, quando anchor fusse certo dover essere incoronato re di tutto il mondo, et se era cosa, che si potesse fare validamente col gran Turco, che io saria stato piu pronto in andarvi, et farla christiano, se bene fusse stato certo lasciarvi la vita per acquistare la gratia di Dio ; lui mi rispose, che bisognava che Christo operasse col miracolo per tutto, et che

era più necessario qui, che col gran Turco per più rispetti, perche non era bastante esso a far tal impresa senza il miracolo evidentissimo et mi promise che non veniva ad effetto alcuno, et che mi faria vedere il miracolo segnalatissimo nel tempo chi el fusse per manifestare il segreto della cosa, e con tal promissione andai ancor io in sua compagnia, come fanno tutti gl' huomini che veggono volentieri cose nuove ; ma poiche ci fussimo condotti et in Palazzo, che il papa veniva, e che io veddi m. Benedetto cambiarsi di colore, et che l' incominciò a tremar la voce dicendomi non so che di trapasso, io subito mutai proposito, dicendo che non mi ci coglieria mai più, et entrato et uscito della signatura ritornai in casa in Borgo, et ritiratomi in una stanza remota piansi la mia sciocheria d' haver dato fede a costui ; cosi Iddio Nostro Sig^{re} mi è testimonio et ancora il cavaglier Pelliccione, che mi ci trovò et con tal cordoglio, lassai m. Benedetto in Borgo et andai a Roma allo allogiamento, con deliberatione di non voler più pratica di m. Benedetto, il quale venne a ritrovarmi il dì seguente, et io li feci dire per suo nepote, che si dovesse provvedere di stanza e di vivere, et cosi all' hora se ne andò via, ne lo viddi per trè o quattro giorni ; ma poi di nuovo ritornò per alloggiare, dove io era e quando viddi che non voleva lasciar stare chiamai il cavagliero, et pigliamo una camera locanda in casa di madonna Faustina a canto il cardinal Saraceno, et intendendo che m. Benedetto ritrovato uno del sig^{re} Marc Antonio Colonna, che lo favoriva per haver audienza da Sua Santità andai due volte a Palazzo per dire al papa quest' humore di m. Benedetto, ne mi essendo successo di parlarli, me ne andai dal cardinale Gonzaga pregandolo mi volesse fare ottenere dal papa un certo honesto partito, con la qual' occasione havria havuto intratura di potere palesare questa facenda a Sua Beat^{ne} ; partitomi dal cardinale per voler tornare alla mia stanza, passai da casa del Manfredo per intendere che cosa era per fare m. Benedetto, e non essendo in casa lo volsi aspettare, acciò non andasse dal papa prima di me, et ritornò a trè hore di notte et disse che haveva dato ordine con quello del sig^{re} Marc Antonio Colonna di andare dal papa la mattina seguente per proporre il suo secreto amorevolmente. Io me ne volsi andare a casa mia, ma mi ritenero a cena per forza et dopo cena per l' hora tarda mi lasciai ancora ritenere a dormire, et mentre che io pensava volermi levare a buon hora per andare a Palazzo prima di m. Benedetto per far sapere al papa questo

humore e sua venuta, venne la corte et li piglio tutti, salvo me che fugii pensando fusse per debiti; ma intesi poi esser per la cosa di m. Benedetto et però scrissi al governatore che io volevo presentarmi, perche io era innocente; quanto alla poliza, che io haveva scritto et stracciato, l'attribuisco a una pasquinata, conciosia cosa che non havevano fondamento d'intendimento alcuno, et le pasquinate si tollerano per meglio governare. Delli pugnali defendesi il cavagliero, et portatore d'essi, io non vi ho colpa. Per la causa principale non ho peccato, non havendo machianato di trattato, che mi volesse impadronire per me, o per altri di città, castelli o terre o denari, ma solo indotto dal desiderio di servire a questo onnipotente, persuaso per le parole efficacissime del sudetto, che haveriano fatto incorrere nel suo parere ogni savia testa, non che me debole instrumento, a tale che considerata la simplicità mia, il procedere mio, il non essere io inventore di novità tale et il non esser successo segno alcuno di scandalo, non son degno di morte, considerata poi la qualità del principe, ancora credo fermamente che sia vicario di quel Christo nostro redemptore, che perdono a S. Pietro che l'haveva tre volte con giuramento, perche si ravvidde dell'errore, si he haver creduto che m. Benedetto così arguto mi potesse far vedere miracolo contro il vicario di quello che fu negato affermativamente, et perdonò; io mi habbi ad essere dato alla morte di cosa dico che non è già stata messa in prova, ne in detti, ne in fatti et di che mi sono emendato et ho pianta, et è stata ancora con ferma deliberatione, e prova di dirlo a Sua Stà; questo rigore di farmi morire per tal causa non doveria già cadere in mente ad un papa, ne si deve paragonare un papa a principi novelli, li quali usano simili rigori per assicurare li stati novi per li successori, et vadane la vita a chi toca, ma inanti al tribunal di Christo si danno poi le sentenze perpetue, ne vi è scusa appresso sua Divina Maestà, la qual prego che illumini il cuor di Sua Beat^{ne} e di questi sig^{ri} giudici, perche conoschino l'innocenza et la simplicità mia riguardando ancora che io son pur d'una famiglia, che ha donato alla Sede Apostolica il ducato di Spoleto et il Patrimonio di S. Pietro.

Data in Castello Sant' Angelo alli 25 di Gennaro 1565 in prigione.¹

Io Antonio Canossa di mano propria.

¹ The Cod. Corsini gives date of 17 Gennaro 1565; the correct date in the Vatican, *loc. cit.*

Ill^{mi} sig^{ti} padre et madre, fratelli et altri miei parenti osservandissimi.

Acciò che non pensarete voi et altri amici che io fossi fatto morire per haver commesso homicidii, rapine, furti, incendi, ribellioni o qualche altra cosa simile vi hò risoluto indirizzare il sommario di tutta l'essamine con la quale mi è stato questa sera nunciata la morte per post domani, che sarà sabbato, alla quale morte io vado tanto volentieri, che a me pare avere a celebrare le nozze, perche confidendomi nella bontà di Dio misericordioso, mi son gettato a suoi santissimi piedi, et sono certo che per sua misericordia mi accetterà nel regno celeste e nelle sue sante braccia, perche non nega mai la sua gratia a chi ricorre a Sua Maesta quale volse morire in croce per noi per haver la croce quattro braccia denotando che da tutte la bande si appressa per raccogliere chi a lui ricorre, e venga da qual parte si voglia, che da tutte la bande accetta e raccoglie. Hora è piaciuto e piace a Sua Divina Mtà che io vaddi a lei per questa strada, la quale parrà a voi che sia obbrobriosa per mano di giustitia, et io l' accetto per gratia di Dio, perche son certo d' andare in paradiso senza avere a patire di là le pene del purgatorio per sapere io l' innocentia mia e simplicità in tal causa, e con questa ferma e certa speranza mi son preparato a far quanto ci comanda il Sig^{re} Dio quando ci dice, che chi vuole seguir lui deve disprezzar se stesso, e toglier la sua croce e seguirlo, et esso vuole essere il primo a portare la croce per lasciar esempio a noi altri. Pero allegrammente corro ad abbracciar la mia, hora che tocca a me, cosi prego Sua Bontà divina, che mi dia forza e quella costanza d' animo sino al fine che mi trovo hora, accio che io possa resistere, e alle tentationi di questa carnaccia, che pur vorria repugnare, perche li par che questo sia un bel mondo, ma non dubito punto, perche ho tanta fede nel Signore che mi conserverà constantissimo, et non permetterà che lo spirito, la ragione siano superati dal senso. Non dubito che questa mia morte sia per apportare infamia alcuna alla nostra cosi nobile et antica famiglia, perche questo è più presto permissione di Dio per volermi tirare a se, che debito di morte, et specchiandoci nella sua santissima passione si vede prima, lui esser stato il piu nobile di carne e di spirito, che huomo che sia gia mai stato in terra, essendo lo spirito disceso dal cielo santissimo et la carne del sangue regio di David, et volse ad esempio nostro patir fame, sete, freddo, tentationi diaboliche, persecutioni, tradimenti, cattura,

schiaffi, sputi, flagelli, percussioni, essere beffeggiato, coronato di spine accutissime et al fine inchiodato in croce e morto, per la quale e mediante la quale noi siamo, a lui, purché noi stessi vogliamo, tenedo questo così bello specchio avanti gl'occhi della memoria, come faccio, et farò sino al fine per andarmi a godere di quella patria celeste, tanto soavve, nobile e giocondo et persuate sig^{ri} miei che se non fosse così nostro Sig^{re} Iddio non si saria affaticato tanto, et con tanto stento per insegnarci la strada di quella disideratissima habitatione, et beato colui che lo conosce. Vi prego d'una cosa sola per quanto amore voi dovete a nostro Sig^{re} Iddio, cioè che chi haverà la nuova in quel tempo mi sarà giocondissimo che non se ne pigli travaglio, e state sani.

43. FRANCESCO PRIORATO TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.¹

1564, December 30, Rome.

. . . Tutti questi giorni sono stati in Castello ad esaminare et far esaminare quelli della congiura cioè l'Accolto, figliolo del card. d'Ancona, Ludovico² Manfredi, Marc Antonio Canossa et un cavaliere Pavese, il qual fù quello che rivelò la congiura. They were tortured, but did not confess who was the originator. They had already admitted their guilt, but no particulars were extorted. One died under torture.³

[Original. State Archives, Modena.]

44. FRANCESCO PRIORATO TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.⁴

1565, January 6, Rome.

. . . After the banquet the Pope spoke of the conspiracy, as I have already reported: "solo soggiunse S.Stà questo d'avantaggio che costoro volevano ammazzarlo per far piacere a Calvino et che in effetto non ci erano interessati principi di sorte alcuna." Pius IV. said that personally he forgave the conspirators, but that for the sake of example he must let justice take its course freely.

[Original. State Archives, Modena.]

¹ See *supra*, pp. 383, 386.

² Generally called Taddeo.

³ In another letter of December 30, 1564, F. Priorato wrongly states that Canossa died in consequence of torture.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 385, 390.

45. FRANCESCO PRIORATO TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA.¹

1565, January 10, Rome.

To-day I went to the Castle of St. Angelo to see the conspirators who are imprisoned there ; “ in fatti trovo che l'Accolti era capo di tutti. Costui è un huomo piccolo di brutta effigie, ma literato molto et il quale fa professione d'astrologo et dice che era ispirato da Dio di far questo enorme et scellerato effetto. . . . Egli subornò il Manfredo, il quale per havere una bella moglie, de la quale era innamorato il conte Canossa, tirò nel suo parere anco il detto conte, il quale m' ha detto che egli il giorno istesso che fu preso voleva scoprir la cosa al papa al che andò per due volte, ma che mai lo puote parlare. La conclusione è che ispirati dal demonio et da pazzia volevano ammazzare il papa et tutto hanno confessato al confessario.” Accolti had a poisoned dagger. He uttered such false prophecies (this year there is going to be an upheaval of all things) as to seem to be a madman. “ E stato a Geneva et credo che tocchi grandemente di Luterano.” Those who made the conspiracy known were pardoned.

[Original State Archives, Modena.]

46. EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS AGAINST PIUS IV.
BENEDETTO ACCOLTI AND HIS COMPANIONS.²

1565 Venerdi 26 di gennaio a ora una di notte . . . furno consegnati l'infrascritti tre condannati etc. . . .

Di poi questo si disse la santa messa et tutti tre furno comunicati la mattina seguente circa hore 18 furno cavati di Campidoglio et stracinati a coda di cavallo su certe ruote a uso di carretti alti un palmo da terra, et andorno per tutta Roma, poi ritornorno in Campidoglio dove era fatto un palchetto di legname, et quivi a uno per uno fu dato loro d'un mazzo in su la testa ; di poi turno schannati a guisa di vaccine, cosa horrenda, et poi squartati. La sera poi all' hora solita furno levati li detti quarti et portati alla nostra compagnia et sotterrati nel luogo solito.

[Orig. Arch. di S. Giov. decollato, Giustiziati 1556—1565 vol. 3, p. 308^b. State Archives, Rome.]

¹ See *supra*, pp. 385, 390.² See *supra*, p. 387.

47-48. L. BONDONUS DE BRANCHIS CONCERNING THE
CONSPIRACY OF BENEDETTO ACCOLTI¹.

1565, January 27.

Coniuratio contra pontificem.

Die 27 ianuarii. Quidam Benedictus de Accoltis Aretinus quidam filius cardinalis de Ravenna, Taddaeus Manfredus, Antonius comes Canossae et quidam qui valgariter dicebatur il cavalier Pilliccione, qui omnes coniurarunt contra vitam Pontificis cum pugionibus volentes eum interficere, a iustitia condemnati, turpissima morte iugulati sunt ut infra videlicet : Praefati insani coniurati, a diabolica fraude seducti, fabricare fecerunt quosdam parvos pugiones et cogitarunt petere audientiam a pontifice, et solum eum repertum cum dictis pugionibus interficere. Tandem audientiam obtinuerunt et diabolicum scelus perpetrare conati sunt ; et dictus Benedictus ut eorum principalis, qui primus in vulnerando esse debebat, ut Deo placuit, amisso animo, tantum scelus perpetrare non ausus est, sed pro alia vice ad maiorem commoditatem distulit. Interim Deo inspirante prefatus eques Pelliccionus dictam coniurationem detexit, et omnes fuerunt carcerati in Turrinona et delictum confessi sunt. Qui postea translati ad carceres capitolinos, traditi sunt in potestatem Senatus, a quo adiudicati fuerunt ut positi essent supini unusquisque eorum super tabulam cum quatuor parvis rotis et tracti essent ad caudam equorum per urbem, tubicine equitante et precedente ac tubam in signum mestitiae sonante. Qui tandem reducti ad plateam Capitolii supra suggestum in medio plateae ad hoc fabricatum unus post alium, dum genuflexi permanerent et orarent, a carnifice cum malleo ligneo in capite percussi sunt et statim cum eorum prefatis pugionibus eos iugulavit et eos postea in quatuor partes delaniavit. Fuerunt etiam in dicta coniuratione quidam dominus Petrus et Prosper de Accoltis, quibus dictum fuerat ut starent parati in platea S^{ti} Petri, quia ipsi quoddam effectum facere volebant, et, si opus esset, eos adiuvarent : non tamen prefati sciebant quid ipsi facere intendebant. Qui postea fuerunt missi ad triremes.

[Copy. XII 29 p. 378^b. Papal Secret Archives.]¹ See *supra*, pp. 387 *seqq.*

49. ALFONSO ROSSELLI TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA¹.

1565, May 2, Rome.

In cypher : La intelligenza fra il conte Annibale Altaemps et Borromeo è grandissima per causa del parentado rinovato et questi tre sono hora omnipotenti et totalmente volti ad abbassare il sig^{ro} Gabrio et altri fratelli Serbelloni, li quali si tengono bene per quanto possono, ma serà dura cosa che resisteno alla onnipotenza di questi tre. Il Papa pero procura di accomodarli quanto puo ; sono cose solite fra parenti de papi et anche nelle altre corti.

[Orig. State Archives, Modena.]

50-52. PIUS IV. AND THE EAST.²

Relations with the Eastern schismatics had become closer especially as a result of the Portuguese voyages of discovery. A priest from Abyssinia had been sent to the church of S. Stefano near the Vatican, at whose request, by a brief of November 20, 1560, Cardinal Morone had been appointed protector of the Abyssinians and the use of the church of S. Stefano confirmed to them.³ Pius IV. gave the church of S. Lorenzo d' Cavalluzzi for the use of the Armenians in Rome,⁴ and was also inclined to give a church to the Copts.⁵ In 1562 the Pope sent a letter of recommendation to his nuncio in Spain, Crivelli, and to Philip II, on behalf of two Coptic monks from Egypt who wished to make a tour of Europe.⁶

Under Pius IV. bishops from the East frequently came to the Eternal City. Thus the Patriarch of the Armenians⁷ visited Rome in 1550, and there personally in 1553 brought

¹ See *supra*, p. 398.² See *supra*, p. 403.

³ *Card. Morone. "Cum nobis curae sit, sicut decet, ut Aethiopes sive Abyssini, qui in hac Alma Urbe commorantur, et quos ad Apostolorum limina venire contigerit, nulla a quoquam molestia incommodove afficiantur, et ut ecclesia S. Stephani in Vaticano resque et bona et iura eius omnia ad ipsam et Abyssinos pertinentia salva conserventur, et ut habeant idoneum protectorem, per quem sua desideria, quoties opus fuerit, in nostram notitiam preferre possint," at the request of the Prior of the church, Io. Bapt. Abyssini, we name you protector of the church of these Abyssinians (Brevia Arm., 44, t. 10, n. 81, p. 597, Papal Secret Archives). The priest, John Baptist, was made Patriarch of the Abyssinian nation on September 7, 1565. GULIK-EUBEL III., 275.

⁴ GIACONUS III., 882.⁵ Cf. the brief quoted *infra* p. 502, n. 3.

⁶ Brevia Arm., 44, t. 11, n. 209 : Alexandro episc. Cariatensi (s.d.), and n. 211 (February 7, 1562) to Philip II. For the reason why Pius IV. looked upon these monks as being united to Rome see *infra*, p. 502.

⁷ MERKLE II., 15. Cf. Vol. XIII of this work, p. 313, n. 3.

about the adhesion to the Roman church of Sulaka, the Catholikos of the Eastern Syrians, who had hitherto been Nestorians,¹ and in like manner, in 1562, the successor of Sulaka, Abdjesu, appeared in Rome to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pope ; the Catholikos declared himself ready to accept the dogmatic decrees of the Council of Trent.²

By the advice of Abdjesu, his suffragan, Abraham, metropolitan of the Christians of St. Thomas in distant India, also took refuge in Rome. His predecessor, Joseph, had had to retire to Portugal under suspicion of Nestorianism, but he returned, and obtained from the viceroy the banishment of Abraham, who, encouraged by Abdjesu, did not shrink from undertaking the long journey in order to seek for his rights in the Eternal City. In 1565 Pius IV sent letters on his behalf to Abdjesu, to the Archbishop of Goa, and to the Bishop of Cochin.³

An Eastern Syrian bishop, John Ibrahim Cassa, also stayed for several months in Rome in 1562. He gave information as to the favourable dispositions towards Rome of the Jacobite Patriarch of Mardin, Nehemias, to whom Pius IV. sent a letter inviting him to communion with the Roman church.⁴ Three years later Nehemias actually sent envoys to Rome to seek reunion with the Apostolic See.⁵

Before this, Michael, the Armenian Bishop of Ezmiadsin, had, with the same intention sent as an envoy to Rome a certain Abgar, who, on December 10, 1564, there made the profession of faith of the Roman Church.⁶ In order to obtain fuller information as to Nehemias and Michael, Pius IV. appointed John Baptist, Bishop of the Abyssinians in Cyprus, as his nuncio⁷; he had been educated in Rome, and was also to visit, during his journey in the east, the Catholic bishops, Nicholas Frydo of Nachitschewan, Peter, the Patriarch of the Maronites, and Abdjesu at Mosul. Nehemias did not remain loyal; he not only apostatized from the Roman church, but

¹ Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 313, n. 3.

² MERKLE II., 594 n.h. RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 28 *seqq.*

³ DIB in *Revue de l'Orient chrét.* 2 Series IX. (1914), 28. GIAMIL, *Genuinae relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Syrorum orientaliū seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam. Nunc maiori ex parte primum editae historicisque adnotationibus illustratae cura Rmi Abbatis Samuelis Giamil, ecclesiae Babylonensis archidiaconi et patriarchae Chaldaeorum apud sanctam Sedem procuratoris generalis.* Rome, 1902, 69-73.

⁴ RAYNALDUS 1562, n. 31.

⁵ DIB, *loc. cit.*, 24, 28.

⁶ RAYNALDUS 1564, n. 52.

⁷ Letter of March 10, 1565, in DIB, *loc. cit.*, 29.

even from Christianity ; however, under Gregory XIII. he came to Rome as a penitent, to be reconciled to the Church. It may be looked upon as a sign of the new relations opened with the East that in the time of Pius IV. a printing press was set up with Armenian and Arabic type, which however did not issue its first works until the time of Pius V.¹

Pius IV. profited by these new relations with the Easterns to invite them to the Council of Trent. For this purpose he issued, on August 20, 1561, a letter to the Negus of Abyssinia,² which did not reach its destination. An envoy was sent to the Coptic Patriarch, Gabriel, on February 17, 1561.³ Already in the time of Paul IV. a certain Abraham had come to Rome as his representative, who declared himself to be armed with full authority to arrange reunion with the Roman Church. Pius IV. prudently charged Cardinal Ghislieri to obtain information about Abraham through the Venetian consul in Egypt. The report was satisfactory ; the Patriarch Gabriel also sent a fresh letter asking for a nuncio to be sent. The Pope appointed for this purpose two Jesuits, Cristoforo Rodriguez, and the Jewish convert, Gian Battista Eliani, who was skilled in languages, but who, in spite of all his caution, fell victim to a miserable mistake. The Patriarch accepted the presents of the Pope, but at length, after long negotiations, declared that the idea of reunion had never been seriously contemplated, that Abraham had wished to see Rome, and that it had only been for that reason that he had been given the letters which he had shown there ; the second letter, with the request that a nuncio might be sent, had been sent with the object of setting Abraham free from the imprisonment into which he had fallen ;⁴ and that the promise of obedience to the Pope had only been an expression of courtesy.

¹ GELZER in *Real-Enzyklopädie* of Herzog, II³, 86. SACCHINI, I, 1. 8, n. 40.

² Printed in BECCARI X, 125-130. A brief to the Bishop of Oviedo, *ibid* 130 *seq.*; cf. RAYNALDUS 1561, n. 63. On February 6, 1563, Pius IV. begged King Sebastian of Portugal to protect Abyssinia against the Turks. RAYNALDUS 1563, n. 226.

³ *Arm. 44, t 11, n. 20. According to this letter *Ambrosius episc. Auriensis* had decided the patriarch on conversion. Abraham was received in Rome in the presence of many Cardinals. Gabriel appointed as his representative at the Council the priest Joh. Bapt. Habiseinus, with whom Abraham took up his residence, and who knew Arabic and Latin. His successor was to have a house and church in Rome. Morone and Ghislieri are named as procurators of the Abyssinians at the Holy See. A *brief of August 15, 1560 (*sic*) enjoining upon Cristoforo Rodriguez to induce the Patriarch of Alexandria to send representatives to the Council is in Brev. Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 352, p. 268 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ ASTRAIN II, 396 *seqq.* According to the letters of Rodriguez of December 10, 1561 and April 7, 1562. Cf. SACCHINI II, 1. 5, n. 135 *seqq.*; 1. 6, n. 121 *seqq.*

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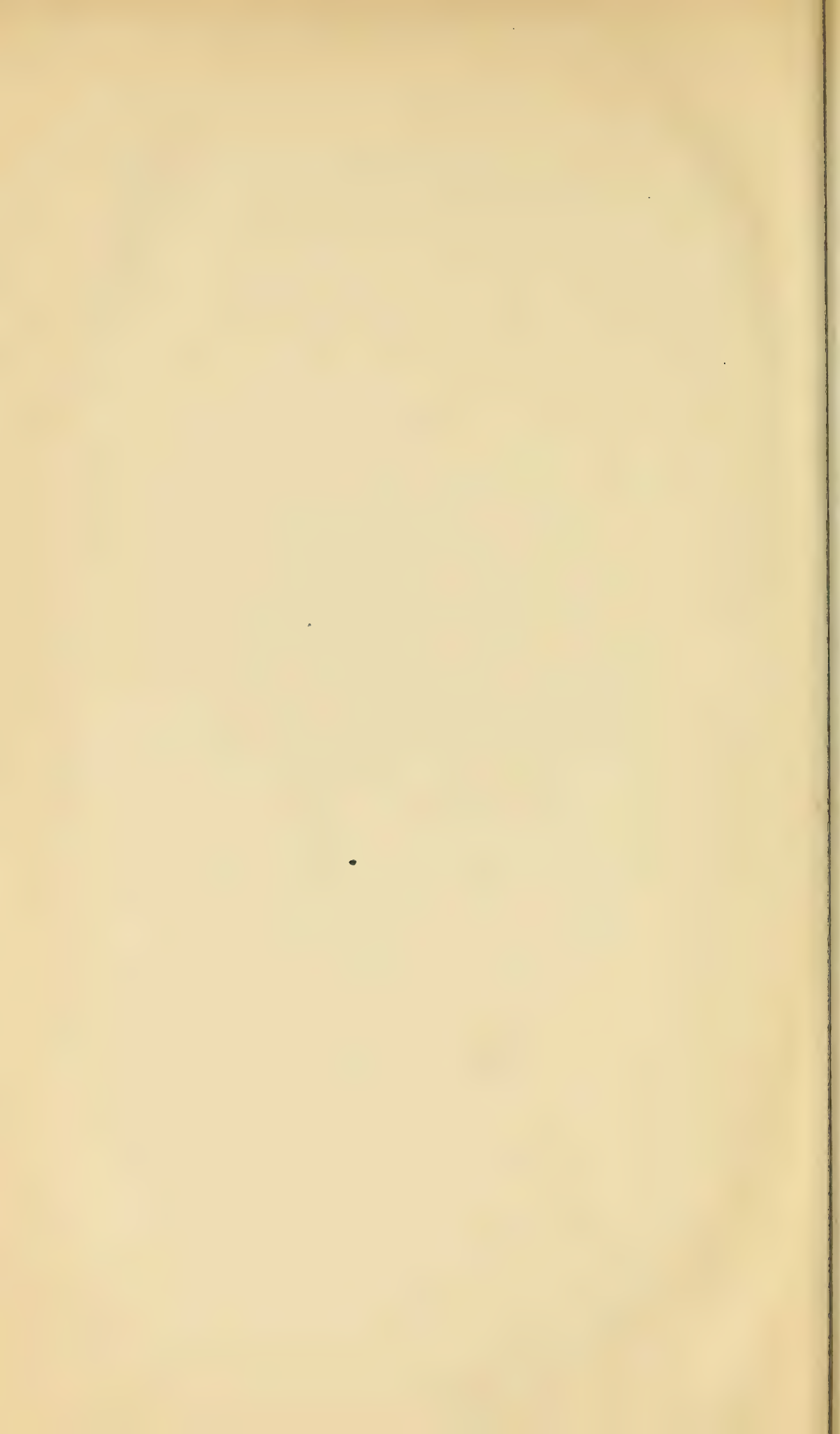
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